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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 1, January 1984



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## CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## HOW BEST TO REMEMBER MAO ZEDONG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 2-4

[Article by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Chinese people of all nationalities should remember 26 December forever. It was on this day 90 years ago that our Comrade Mao Zedong was born.

The 100-year period--50 years before and 50 years after Comrade Mao Zedong was born--witnessed dense dark clouds over China's skies, tempestuous uproars across China's land, and the Chinese people's repeated fierce struggles against their powerful enemies: imperialists from abroad and feudalism at home. An era of great struggles is bound to produce outstanding people and these outstanding people move history forward. Comrade Mao Zedong was precisely the greatest and most outstanding person in our country over this period of more than 100 years.

Progressive people throughout the world had long been concerned with the great struggles waged by the Chinese people. In 1857, when Marx and Engels learned of the surging revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the Chinese people's tenacious struggles against foreigners' aggression, they ebulliently predicted that still greater struggles would soon take place in China which would enable people to witness the dawn of a new era for all of Asia. When Lenin saw the spectacular upsurge of the Chinese revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, he enthusiastically praised in 1913: The new fountain of super world storms is taking shape in Asia. He also held that storms in Asia would have an impact on Europe.

Although the pioneers of the Chinese democratic revolution were unable to change China's destiny, the predictions of the international Marxist teachers were fulfilled. The Communist Party of China came into being in 1921. Led by Comrade Mao Zedong and many other Marxist revolutionaries, the Communist Party of China finally carried out the behests of the high-minded patriots of modern Chinese history after 28 years of heroic, wave-upon-wave struggle waged with a new ideology and a large scope unknown to their predecessors.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was another leap in mankind's history of revolution following the October Revolution in Russia. Because the Chinese revolution took place in a country with about one-fourth of the world's population, it exerted tremendous influence on the course of world history. Not only did it finally end China's 2,000-year-old feudal rule and the 100-year oppression of China by the imperialists, but it also opened up a road for the Chinese people to the communist society which will be infinitely beautiful. The great victory of the Chinese revolution filled Chinese people of all nationalities with exultance and struck a deep chord in the hearts of oppressed people and nations as well as in the hearts of progressive mankind.

No one could match Comrade Mao Zedong in terms of his position and role in the Communist Party of China and in the Chinese revolution. He was one of the founders of our party and the principal founder of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. He was the first to discover the correct road of the Chinese revolution when it was in the most difficult predicament. By constantly pooling the whole party's wisdom, he integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, worked out a correct general strategy, and formulated step by step a body of correct theories and policies. This is what we call Mao Zedong Thought.

Not only is Mao Zedong Thought an ideological weapon that has led the Chinese revolution from defeat to victory and from victory to victory, but its stand, viewpoint, and methods of understanding and transforming the world serve as a guide for us to continue winning victories in our socialist revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions are immortal. Mao Zedong Thought will shine forever.

It was not accidental that Comrade Mao Zedong could accomplish such great achievements. When he was still a young boy, he was determined to save the country. After he became a young man and a Marxist, he dedicated himself entirely to the Chinese people's liberation cause, for which he fought all his life. Although burdened with pressing military duties during the protracted revolutionary war years, he worked diligently to investigate, study, and think and never ceased his effort to learn from the people, the society, and his predecessors.

While he studied as a student, he also taught as a teacher. He never neglected the cultivation of a fine work style and a fine study style within our party. Those who met him were astounded by his profound knowledge and showed their admiration. His exceptional energy was associated with his great revolutionary aspiration. This revolutionary spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's is always worth learning by us.

Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific thinking and revolutionary spirit cultivated one generation after another of Chinese Marxists. We can say that all of the backbone leaders at various levels in our party have been affected, influenced, and tempered by his scientific thinking and revolutionary spirit. I am also one of those who matured under his direct instructions.

I first saw his face and smiles in 1933, and I first listened to his kind teaching face to face in 1936.

When I attended the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in 1937, he taught his philosophic works "On Practice" and "On Contradictions" in my class. In the fall of that year, he recommended me to be the secretary of the college's general party branch. He told me that to make a success of the operation of the general party branch, it was first necessary to have a good college journal. After he read the first issue of the college journal, he criticized us for not writing articles ourselves, and then he volunteered to write the article "Oppose Liberalism," a renowned militant article denouncing liberal ideas. Here are just some of my recollections about my association with him before I was 21. His earnest instructions and exhortations later were numerous. My experience is only one of the thousands of examples that show how he loved and helped young party cadres. Our party has the future in its grip. When we think of the continuity of our party's cause, all veteran cadres should act as Comrade Mao Zedong did and take it as their important historical mission to love and care for the young cadres and help them mature.

Like many other great figures in history, Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes. The serious mistakes he made in his later years put our party in a very difficult situation for a time. How should we appraise the mistakes of this prestigious and great leader who has just passed away? Some people in the party, particularly some who were in leading positions then, attempted to follow the wrong policies Comrade Mao Zedong had adopted in his later years instead of trying to restore and develop the extremely valuable legacy he left. Some well-intentioned comrades maintained that since they had followed Chairman Mao for several decades, their conscience did not allow them to criticize him. Some worried that open exposure of his mistakes would throw the party into confusion and cause a crisis of confidence. A small number of people went to the other extreme, attempting to write off in one stroke all the great contributions made by Comrade Mao Zedong because of his errors in his later years and wanted to lead the party in the wrong direction.

But our party did not succumb to such interference. Our party soberly realized that emotions should never replace revolutionary reason, and that metaphysical methods are by no means the strict dialectical materialism and historical materialism that we uphold.

Enlightened and patiently educated by the revolutionaries of the older generation who are still living, our party comprehensively appraised Comrade Mao Zedong and made a penetrating analysis of the reasons for his successes and failures and the lessons to be drawn. After several years of efforts to set things right, we have restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and developed it in certain ways under new conditions. The whole party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and all upright people around the world have come to see that our state can stand the test of any storm and that there is no crisis in our party; instead, it is full of vigor.

It is true that we still face many problems. Because of the vicious sabotage perpetrated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques on the strength of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, our party's organism has been seriously hurt and polluted with such filth and dust.

After basically accomplishing the task of putting things right, we have decided in good time to conduct party rectification. It is precisely intended to carry forward the fine traditions of our party, improve its political life, heal the wounds that have not yet had time to heal, and eliminate the filth and dust that have not yet had time to be eliminated.

All our theoretical workers, writers, and artists must treasure their glorious responsibilities as "engineers of the soul" and work to develop socialist culture and eliminate spiritual pollution and prevent its recurrence.

Ours is a big party with 40 million members. The people of the whole country are deeply concerned for a fundamental turn for the better in the work style of our party which occupies the leading position in the state's political life. Now that we have made careful and comprehensive arrangements and have the support of the masses of people both inside and outside the party, we are confident that after 3 years of party rectification our party will be able to grow in still greater strength and vitality and lead the country's 1 billion people toward the splendid goal set by the party's 12th congress.

The most arduous task now facing us is to build a strong and modernized socialist country in line with China's conditions; that is, to build socialism with Chinese characteristics as Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated. Some comrades ask: Can we readily answer the question of what "socialism with Chinese characteristics" means? We say: There are no preconceived, ready answers and there cannot be such answers. What we do is to constantly enhance our understanding through practice under the guidance of correct theories. Just as Lenin said: Theory has to be vitalized, revised, and tested in practice.

Others say: If there are no ready answers, let us follow a mode that exists in other countries. We say: This will not do. Conditions differ in different countries; socialism in each country inevitably has that country's own characteristics. In a big country such as ours, which is also economically and culturally weak, peculiar problems are unavoidable in building socialism and it is necessary to take measures conforming to our own conditions.

Comrades who believe in following a general socialist pattern or copying a given model happen to have forgotten Lenin's famous saying: "The more forms, the better; the more forms, the richer the common experience and the more probable and quicker the victory of socialism; the more forms there are, the easier that practice will create--because only practice can create--/still better/ [in boldface] forms and tactics of struggle." Practice is a great school. Let us carry forward in practice our revolutionary

style of being brave in probing and strive to scale new heights of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Mao Zedong's monumental contributions in finding a path through difficulties over past decades will always be a source of admiration and encouragement for us and inspire us in our courageous advance to accomplish the cause he left unfinished. We must exert ourselves.

CSO: 4004/61



THREE OF COMRADE CHEN YUN'S TALKS AND LETTERS ON PINGTAN--ARTICLES SELECTED FROM THE BOOK 'COMRADE CHEN YUN'S TALKS AND CORRESPONDENCE ON PINGTAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 5-6

[Text] Take the Correct Road in Creating Talented People and Stories (5 April 1981)<sup>1</sup>

As far as you are concerned, taking the correct road in creating talented people and stories, and preserving and developing the art of pingtan [story-telling and ballad singing in the Suzhou dialect] should be of primary importance, and the issue of money should be of secondary importance.

Only by taking the correct road can the art of pingtan be preserved and developed. It is necessary to use the decent art of pingtan to subdue unhealthy tendencies and practices in art.

It is necessary to create talented people and stories. In creating talented people, it is not exactly necessary to create more than 10 talented people at one stroke. It will be fine to create three to five talented people at first, and then to increase the number and enhance the level gradually. In the past, the majority of artists used to delve into art in every way they could. It is essential to depend on our own concentration of mind and energy while delving into art, because diligence creates talent. At the same time, competition is also necessary.

New pingtan lyrics can be composed through the adaptation of novels, films, and plays. I quite agree with the opinion of Qiu Xiaopeng<sup>2</sup> that in composing from other works, stress should not be placed on the shu qing [2579 1906]<sup>3</sup> alone, and it is also necessary to organize "guan zi [7070 1311]." <sup>4</sup> It is necessary to reorganize the original works and to arrange "guan zi" well. In order to organize "guan zi" well, the plot of the original can be changed round and modified if necessary. Only when the "guan zi" is organized well can a composition be attractive to people.

Composing new stories depends on artists with performing experience.

Young people should not be required to suit the pingtan; instead, the pingtan should suit young people. In suiting young people, it is necessary not to stop at accommodating them, and we should rather gradually enhance

their level. In the course of suiting young people, talented people can be trained and good art can be created.

In composing new stories, artistic improvements should be made and the old ruts should be got out of too. However, it is necessary to discard evil paths and to take a correct road. Certainly, if there is something in the evil paths that can be utilized, it can also be absorbed after transformation.

We should use correctly oriented art to subdue evil paths and to guide and enhance the audience. It is necessary to maintain the main force and to preserve and enhance the art of pingtan. Pingtan can be rejuvenated if we take the correct road in creating talented people and stories.

Strengthen the Management of Pingtan Repertoire and Performance (16 August 1983)<sup>5</sup>

Pingtan is a main form of folk art, popular in the Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai areas. In the course of the implementation of the party's policy toward literature and art, a few years ago some artists started to pursue a different trend. The main manifestation of such a trend can be seen from their repertoire and performance, which pander to the low tastes of some audiences simply to seek a greater box office. Although the management of the performances has been strengthened recently, the problem has not been fundamentally solved. Presently many units have set up pingtan theaters. In addition to cultural departments, they are run by trade unions, neighborhoods, teahouses, supply and marketing cooperatives, rural communes, production brigades, or individuals. The industrial and commercial administration is responsible for issuing the license, and the finance and commerce departments are responsible for collecting the taxes and profits from the theaters. Neither has a special interest in the content of the performances. Therefore, it is not sufficient to rely solely on cultural departments to thoroughly rectify the unhealthy practices in the pingtan repertoire and performances. The provincial and municipal CPC committees of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai must take charge of this problem. They may first call a meeting, attended by people from various circles, to formulate regulations for managing the theater, stipulating what type of repertoire should be banned and what the punishment should be if it is performed. They should then dispatch inspectors at random and punish anyone violating the regulations. I am convinced that the evil trend can be stopped if efforts to tackle the problem are continued for a couple of years.

I request the secretariat to transmit the aforesaid suggestion and the two attached items to the Shanghai Municipal and the Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committees.

Performers Should Pay Attention To Enhancing Their Ideological and Political Level (22 June 1977)<sup>6</sup>

It is necessary to educate the pingtan artists frequently. In order to tell new stories well, it is essential for the artists to read newspapers and the

CANKAO ZILIAO [REFERENCE NEWS], so that they can understand the major events of the state and the world situation.

Can they read and understand the contents of the newspapers? Reading newspapers can enhance the ideological and political level. In addition, it has something to do with the enhancement of their professional level. Newspaper reading should be encouraged.

It is necessary to encourage conscious study. The leadership of the pingtan troupe should grasp the work of studies. Studies should be consistent.

The ideological level cannot possibly be even for all persons, and it is unrealistic to ask for evenness in this respect. However, studies should be encouraged. Otherwise, if they do not understand the general situation, it will be impossible for them to tell new stories well. Some outstanding persons in studies should be set up and commended. The leadership should pay attention to this question.

All the pingtan artists should study Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," and should also study some works of Marxism-Leninism. In the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," I devoted a lot of time to reading books. Beginning from 20 July 1967, Qi Benyu and his ilk did not let me read even the CANKAO XIAOXI [REFERENCE MATERIAL] and REFERENCE NEWS. I said: Very well. Then I read "Das Kapital" and the original works of Marxism-Leninism. In this way I continued my self-study for several years.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This is a talk by Comrade Chen Yun to the responsible comrades of the Shanghai pingtan troupe.
2. Qiu Xiaopeng, pingtan writer, is working with the Suzhou City pingtan troupe.
3. Shu qing means the plot of the story.
4. Guan zi means sharp contradictions or conflicts, or tense and vivid parts of the plot in the story. To grasp guan zi and give a delicate portrayal, without immediately betraying the end of the story, will create a strong feeling of suspense among the audience. This process is called "selling guan zi."
5. This is a letter written by Comrade Chen Yun to Comrade Hu Qili.
6. This is a talk by Comrade Chen Yun to some of the persons attending the Hangzhou pingtan forum after it was held.

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## HOW PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD VIEW PARTY RECTIFICATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 7-11

[Commentator's article]

[Text] According to the circular issued by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, the party rectification in the present stage should place stress on studying relevant documents. All comrades should correctly understand the spirit of the series of party rectification documents in a comprehensive way. Only thus can we fulfill all requirements prescribed by the central authorities in its party rectification decision. In the study of the present stage, it is first necessary to resolve the question of what attitude Communist Party members, including party cadres, especially those in leading posts at all levels, should take toward party rectification. From now on, this question must be placed in an important position in the whole course of party rectification.

### Strengthen Party Spirit Through Party Rectification

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee: Party members against whom disciplinary measures need to be taken only account for a very small percentage. These include "people of three categories," those who have committed serious economic crimes and other criminal offenses, those who have done serious damage to the party's ties with the masses by seeking selfish interests and abusing powers, and those who have long refused to maintain a uniform political position with the central authorities, or who comply with the central authorities in public but oppose them in private. All these people must be weeded out and be dealt with seriously. However, for most party members, party rectification represents a process of ideological education which will help them strengthen party spirit. Through party rectification, ideological, political, and moral progress must be made in the whole party; the selfless spirit of all party members in serving the people must be greatly enhanced; and the party's relations with the masses must be improved. Party rectification should institutionalize criticism and self-criticism in the inner-party political life. All party members, no matter what posts they hold, must receive criticism and make self-criticism. We must effect a fundamental turn for the better in the general practice of the party and must consolidate party organizations through party rectification.

In order to achieve the purposes and the expected results of party rectification, all party members and cadres, including leading cadres, especially high-ranking cadres, and all party organizations, including party groups, branches, general branches, and committees, must examine themselves against the requirements of the party constitution. No one should think that self-examination should only be conducted by part of the party members, while the others are naturally qualified and need not conduct self-examination against the party constitution. In the course of party rectification, all party members and organizations must work out their own plans for enhancing their qualifications to the standards stipulated by the party constitution and must pledge to realize these plans. Leading cadres at all levels, in particular, must do so. The current party rectification is being carried out from top to bottom. Whether party cadres, especially those in leading posts, can take the lead in rectifying their practice and ideology is vitally related to whether the party rectification can be carried out smoothly and can achieve expected results. Leading cadres at all levels, especially high-ranking cadres, should all the more strictly observe the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and play an exemplary role. It is not true that only rank-and-file party members should be subject to the party constitution; all party members should be equal before the party constitution. No one in the party is allowed to enjoy privileges and act in violation of the party constitution. Stricter demands must be set on leading cadres, especially high-ranking cadres.

Without solving the problems concerning the "people of three categories," it is not possible to solve problems concerning other people, and party rectification will get nowhere in the end. Thus, whether "people of three categories" can be thoroughly weeded out serves as an important sign for success; and whether party members, especially party cadres, can strengthen their party spirit represents another important sign for success. If leading cadres, especially high-ranking cadres, can really play an exemplary role, it will be much easier to enhance the party spirit of most party members and to achieve the fundamental turn for the better in the general practice of the party, and the party will really become a firm core of leadership in the socialist modernization cause.

#### Whether One Can Be a Qualified Party Member Depends on His Own Efforts

According to the "CPC Central Committee's Decision on Party Rectification," party rectification should fulfill four major tasks, namely, the achievement of ideological unity, the rectification of the party's work style, the strengthening of discipline, and the purification of party organizations. In the latter period of the party rectification, all party members who meet the requirements for party membership should register with party organizations, but those who do not meet the requirements should not be allowed to register or their registration should be postponed. Some people should even be expelled from the party. Party organizations should seriously observe the attitude of each member in the self-examination and his performance in the party rectification, seeing whether he really has enhanced his political consciousness. It is a matter of course that all kinds of attitudes may

appear in the party rectification. For example, some people may think that as leading cadres who have participated in the revolution for several decades, they must be considered qualified party members and must be allowed to register, so they will even refuse to make earnest self-criticism even though they have committed mistakes and refuse to take part in activities of party rectification and in the study of relevant documents. Some young cadres may think that they are mere "nobodies" and are not as important as leading cadres who, as the central document points out, must play an exemplary role and take the lead in party rectification. These are all erroneous views. If one takes such an attitude from the beginning and refuses to change it, he will not make any progress even if he participates in study and discussions and he will just muddle through in party rectification. A small number of people are even more incorrect in trying to follow the practice of the "Cultural Revolution" by directing the spearhead of struggle at their superiors. It is for the purpose of securing success in party rectification that we emphasize the exemplary role of leading cadres. This is absolutely different from the malpractice of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques which agitated the masses to direct the spearhead of struggle at the leadership in an attempt to destroy the party. It is possible that some people do not want other people to criticize their mistakes and do not want to resolve their problems by opening their hearts to the party. They attempt to muddle through in party rectification and achieve the entitlement to register their party membership as "qualified party members" in the end. This view is wrong, because it will do harm to the party and those people themselves. Every party member must seriously consider whether he still wants to be a member of the Communist Party and whether he still hopes to be entitled to register as a party member. If he still harbors a desire to be a member of the Communist Party, he should, beginning from the stage of study, adopt an earnest attitude and honestly fulfill each requirement in party rectification. It is our hope that all party members will prove to be qualified. This requires party organizations at all levels to do a great deal of painstaking work. However, whether one can be proved to be up to the standards for a party member depends mainly on his own efforts. The organization should give patient help and comrades should offer realistic and friendly criticism, but it is the person himself who eventually determines whether he will accept this help and criticism and whether he will correct his mistakes.

All members of the Communist Party must examine themselves against the party constitution. They must measure their thinking and conduct against the requirements provided for by the party constitution. The most important provisions are the first four articles of Chapter 1. As for party cadres, they should also examine themselves against the six basic requirements for party cadres. All party members must study and understand the party constitution in a thoroughgoing way and find out their deficiencies through earnest and careful self-examination and take action to correct these shortcomings and mistakes so as to make themselves qualified members of the Communist Party.

## Communist Party Members Must Resolutely Carry Out the Party's Decisions

It seems that everybody knows Article 1 of the party constitution, but many party members fail to comply with this article. Although some comrades expressed their willingness to accept the party's program and constitution and their determination to carry out the party's decisions before they were admitted into the party and in the first few years after being admitted into the party, they have tended to forget their pledge as time elapses. This problem also exists among some comrades of long-standing in the party, because they have become excessively self-confident, considering themselves to be rich in experience and superior in ability to exert leadership and as long-tested veterans who have experienced hardship in the enemy's prisons and on the battlefields. So they believe that they are always correct in handling every affair and making each remark and seldom question whether that which they have done, written, and said conforms to the party's program and constitution. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said, some comrades assume that they are even wiser than the party. Although some comrades in the party do not deny the great progress we have made in our work since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, their view on the situation remains pessimistic. How can they really implement the party's decisions?

Can people hold different opinions once the party makes its decisions? The party constitution provides that opinions which differ from a decision made by the party are allowed to be aired and reserved under the premise that the decision must be resolutely implemented. Under the premise of carrying out the decision in a resolute way, party members have the right to reserve different opinions or present their views to higher party organizations up to and including the party central leadership. However, some comrades do not act in this way. They tend to voice their different opinions even on public occasions but do not present them to relevant party organizations. If they are not trying to put on a rival show against the central leadership, then they must be just imprudent, irresponsible, and self-confident; they simply neglect the need to adjust their words and deeds to the party's decisions and to request instructions from party organizations and blindly believe in the correctness of their own views. We must guard against this practice. Our comrades must always remember that we are not so smart that every word and deed of ours will conform to the party's decisions. We should earnestly examine ourselves and see whether we have done anything in violation of the party's decisions in recent years and whether we have run counter to Article 1 of the party constitution. If we have indeed done something wrong, then we must make earnest self-criticism in party rectification; otherwise, how can we say that we are serious toward party rectification?

## Establish a Firm Communist World Outlook

Article 2 of the party constitution says: Members of the Communist Party are vanguard fighters of the working class imbued with communist consciousness. They must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal



sacrifices. They are at all times ordinary members of the working people and must not seek personal gain or privileges. In this regard, not only comrades who joined the party not long ago but also veteran comrades of long party standing must examine themselves and see whether they have met these requirements.

For many reasons, particularly due to the adverse influence of the "Cultural Revolution," our party's prestige among the people has been greatly damaged. Some people have this or that grievance against the party, or even spread the sentiment of distrusting socialism and the Communist Party. Under these circumstances, should a communist be affected by this sentiment and become dejected, or should he use his exemplary deeds to prove the incorrectness of the above viewpoint and make necessary explanations among the masses within his capacity in a reasonable and convincing way? When confronted with some obviously hostile ideas, do party members carry out necessary struggles in a courageous manner? Some comrades fail to do so, and they are even influenced by the erroneous ideas. When hearing other people arguing that the socialist system and the Communist Party are not good, they also become doubtful about the socialist system and the Communist Party and start to waver. The Communist Party always has been cursed by some people, and this is no surprise. It is now being cursed and will continue to be cursed. Since it came into being, the Communist Party of China has always been confronted with invectives by all kinds of people. Has the Communist Party ever been overwhelmed by these invectives? No. There were just over 50 members throughout the country when our party held its first national congress, and the number was less than 200 during the second congress, more than 400 during the third congress, and nearly 1,000 during the fourth congress. When the fifth congress was held in Wuhan in 1927, there were more than 50,000 party members throughout the country. After the "12 April counterrevolutionary coup d'etat," the party was more severely attacked, cursed, and suffered deaths at the hands of domestic and foreign hostile forces. Under these circumstances, some people in the party became disheartened and wavered. They gave up party membership or simply surrendered to the enemy. However, numerous revolutionary martyrs of our party remained steadfast no matter how the enemy cursed and persecuted them. After the frustration, our party again grew stronger and stronger. From 1921 to 1949, our party underwent 28 years of arduous and extremely bitter struggles. Including the later struggle to resist the U.S. invasion and assist Korea, our party fought in wars for almost 30 years. If the members of the Communist Party in those years had given up their belief and had deserted once the enemy heaped abuse and exerted pressure on them, would we have won what we have today? Why do some comrades now so easily waver when hearing other people's cursing and why are they so timid, fearing to offend their friends or other people? Some have even followed other people in cursing. Can they be considered vanguard fighters? Are they still determined to devote their whole lives to communism? This problem also exists in some veteran comrades, who did not yield to the enemy's knife but have been defeated by "sugarcoated bullets."

Moreover, some elderly comrades are now only concerned about securing a number of better houses for themselves and securing good jobs for their

children. They think that they have contributed most of their lifetime to the revolution and have made enormous sacrifices, so they are always anxious to help their children enter a university or find a good job by making use of their powers and influence before they retire from office. Thus, every member of the Communist Party must use his concrete action to answer this question: Did he join the party to make revolution or to climb to power? Comrade Chen Yun posed this question to high-ranking cadres of our party shortly after the founding of the People's Republic. In view of some problems in the party at that time, he sharply pointed out: Some people indeed joined the party to make revolution at the beginning, but later they had power and enjoyed privileges while making revolution. As time elapsed, they had greater power and took higher rank, and then they indulged themselves completely in enjoying privileges and simply banished revolution from their minds. He also pointed out: Egoist ideas more or less exist among high-ranking cadres and may swell if conditions are congruous. At present, some of our comrades, even if they have not completely banished the party's interests from their minds, have at the least indeed paid more attention to their personal interests and paid less attention to the party's interests. That is to say, their minds are imbued with selfish ideas and personal considerations rather than a dedicated spirit. All party members should examine themselves against Article 2 of the party constitution and see whether positive or negative factors are increasing in their minds.

Article 3 in Chapter 1 of the party constitution stipulates that a member of the Communist Party must fulfill eight major duties. One of them is to subordinate one's personal interests to the interests of the party and the people. Everyone should determine whether he has fulfilled this duty or not. The theory of scientific socialism and the program of communists have never denied or tried to deny the existence of personal interests. However, in order to maintain the high fighting capacity of the vanguard of the proletariat, people who join the party voluntarily must have the determination and the political consciousness to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people, and must be ready to sacrifice all their personal interests, including their lives, for the party if necessary. In peacetime, party organizations and leading bodies can take better care of the well-being of party members than in wartime. However, party members should at no time and in no place put their personal interests in the primary position. A qualified party member should gradually establish a communist world outlook in his mind, set right the relationship between their personal interests and the interests of the party and the people, adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything, and firmly oppose egoism of all descriptions. Comrade Liu Shaoqi once exhorted us: As a communist, a revolutionary, we should work wholeheartedly for the party, with our personal affairs being taken care of by party organizations. We ourselves should not pay attention to our personal affairs. However, at present, many party members tend to consider things in both aspects. While working for the party, they also have a lot of personal considerations in their minds. Once they make some achievements in their work, they ask for more rewards from the party. The thinking of some party members is even more vulgar. They only keep their personal gains and losses in mind and give no thought to the party's

interests even though they sometimes do pay lip service to the party. In this party rectification, we must thoroughly set to right our work style, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, correct various malpractices of seeking selfish interests by making use of one's powers and functions, and set to right the relationship between one's personal interests and the party's interests. If we fail to settle this issue, the party rectification will get nowhere.

#### Respect Party Members' Rights Provided for by the Party Constitution, Oppose Liberalism

Article 4, Chapter 1 of the party constitution provides for eight-point rights for party members. However, some comrades cannot understand these provisions in a comprehensive way. They are sensitive to the points where their due rights are being injured or disregarded. Of course, party members' rights prescribed by the party constitution must be safeguarded; and if these rights are infringed upon, the victim should put forward appeal or complaint to higher party organizations. All party members should bravely fight against the practices of infringing upon party members' rights. Now, the problem in question is that these people are less sensitive to the cases in which others' rights are infringed upon or they themselves have infringed upon others' rights, and they even take this for granted. This is obviously incorrect. The correct attitude should be to cherish one's own rights and also respect the rights of other people. For example, it is a party member's duty to report the state of affairs, including matters concerning other comrades, and present information and charges against any evildoers inside the party to higher authorities of the party. In doing so, we must be realistic; otherwise, we might infringe upon the rights of other party members. We must not quote other people's remarks out of context to frame up a case against other people by rigging up some incorrect viewpoints with these garbled remarks. If we want to quote a point of view from other people's statements, we must quote it completely rather than quoting one or two separated phrases. We must do so even if the statement is rather long. As we hope that our own rights will be respected, we should also respect other party members' rights. At present, there is an abnormal phenomenon in the party. Some people regard themselves as infallible even when they are spreading erroneous viewpoints. Other comrades report this to party organizations when hearing erroneous viewpoints. This is a responsible attitude toward the party's cause and is also beneficial to those erring comrades, because only thus can they be helped and educated by the party and correct their mistakes. However, those erring people hold a grudge against other comrades who report their erroneous ideas to party organizations and even trump up countercharges against them. This is absolutely wrong. The practices of liberalism indeed remain in our party. In his essay "Combat Liberalism," Comrade Mao Zedong enumerated 11 manifestations of liberalism. In the current party rectification, every comrade should examine himself against what Comrade Mao Zedong said and see whether he has committed liberalism of any description and to what degree his mistake has developed. At present, problems in this regard are rather serious. Some people, as members of the Communist Party, do not report to party organizations and governments when they are aware that some other people are conducting

counterrevolutionary activities, and even participate in these activities. The rampancy of criminal offenders can be attributed to many reasons, one reason being that many Communist Party members fear to step forward bravely to struggle against them. If all party members think that "each one just sweeps the snow from his own doorstep and need not bother about the frost on his neighbor's roof," the interests of the party and the state will certainly be injured. If a party member does not take action to stop the evildoers who are running rampant, how can he be regarded as a communist with a brave and revolutionary character?

#### It Is Necessary To Open One's Heart to the Party

Opening one's heart to the party means that all party members should be faithful to the party and be one with the party. To really open one's heart to the party, one must remove unnecessary misgivings in his mind. During the "antirightists" struggle in 1957, some party members did not say or write anything on public occasions, and just confessed some incorrect ideas in their minds to the party; these comrades were labeled as "rightists" and their ideological problems were treated as political problems of an alien and hostile character because some party organizations followed the "leftist" guideline when handling their members' confessions. Obviously, this practice was completely wrong. The CPC Central Committee has made a correct conclusion over the mistakes during the antirightists struggle. However, some comrades still harbor misgivings. They question: If we confess to the party about those ideas which nobody is aware of, will we be attacked? Will we be treated as in 1957? These misgivings are completely unnecessary. This is because the present party central leadership is completely different from that during the "Cultural Revolution" and is more mature than that before the "Cultural Revolution." The central leadership has learned lessons from both positive and negative experiences. Some well-intentioned people are worried over whether we will act again as in the "Cultural Revolution" when carrying out the current party rectification and elimination of spiritual pollution. The party Central Committee has paid attention to this question. Apart from the correct leadership of the Central Committee and the correct line, principles, and policies, there are two guarantees that this will not happen. First, as a result of several setbacks, the party and people are now better able to draw distinctions and are politically more mature; the masses would totally fail to understand you if you again called for "rebellion." If even one unit, let alone the whole party, acted in the fashion of the "Cultural Revolution" in rectifying the party and eliminating spiritual pollution, it is certain that not many people would agree to such a thing. The people's political maturity is a very important point. Second, the majority of the leading cadres at all levels suffered during the "Cultural Revolution," and tasted the bitterness of it; they now have experience. They will certainly not permit or pursue again the methods of the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, if party members lay bare their innermost thoughts and show their faithfulness to the party, they will be commended rather than being attacked. At present, our party Central Committee is exercising correct leadership, and our party is growing stronger and stronger. Since we have devoted our all to the communist cause and are living in such a great revolutionary collective which is struggling



for its great ideal, can there be any relations more intimate than our comradesly relations inside the party? Can there be anything that we should hold back from the party? If a party member does not open his heart to the party and does not confess the problems in his mind that he has not mentioned before to the party, he cannot be considered faithful to the party, and he is not at one with the party, nor can he be considered having enhanced his political consciousness through party rectification.

In short, every member of the Communist Party must treat the current party rectification in an attitude complying with the requirements for party members provided for by the party constitution. So long as we act in this way, we surely will achieve success in the party rectification and will never repeat previous mistakes, and not render the party rectification resultless.

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ON THE PATH OF SEIZING STATE POWER BY ARMED FORCE WITH CHINESE  
CHARACTERISTICS--IN COMMEMORATION OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S 90TH BIRTHDAY

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[Article by Miao Chuhuang [4924 2806 7806]]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong's great contribution was combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete reality, overcoming various forms of both "leftist" and rightist erroneous views which advocated mechanically copying the experiences and examples of other countries, and opening up a path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics to lead the Chinese revolution toward victory.

1. First Exploration in China for Seizing State Power by Armed Force

The central task and supreme form of the revolution is to seize state power by armed force and solve problems through fighting in war. This is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism known to the CPC since it was founded. In July 1921, the target of seizing state power by the proletariat through armed struggle, establishing the proletarian dictatorship, eliminating the capitalist private ownership system, and realizing socialism and communism in China, was already put forth by the party program adopted at the First CPC National Congress. The Second CPC National Congress, which was held in July 1922, further analyzed the semicolonial and semifeudal nature of Chinese society and pointed out that the Chinese revolution should be carried out in two steps: the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. This idea reflected the objective law governing the development of the Chinese revolution and represented the immediate and long-term struggles and was of great historical significance.

However, the Second CPC National Congress had, in reality, mechanically copied from other countries two kinds of different tactics for seizing state power. The first tactic, which was a result of mechanically copying the Russian experience of rapidly changing the Russian February Revolution (the democratic revolution) into the October Revolution (the socialist revolution), held that the Chinese proletariat must not only take part in, but also strive to be a "leading army" in the democratic revolution, "ready to organize the soviet power with poor peasants," so that the democratic revolution could be changed into a socialist revolution "immediately."

Between these two revolutions, there must not be a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Although this tactic was a copy of the Russian experience in founding the soviet political power and had its defects, its basic spirit was to realize the proletarian leadership in the democratic revolution and change it into the socialist revolution. This was correct. The other tactic was to repeat the old path the proletariat in Western Europe had followed since the 17th century. It held that the task for the Chinese proletariat was "to help the democratic revolution," so, the proletariat must not contend with the bourgeoisie for leadership. "When the democratic revolution is successful, the proletariat can have more rights and freedom." When the bourgeoisie, which has seized political power, oppresses the proletariat, the latter will then make preparations for and carry out the socialist revolution "to deal with the bourgeoisie." In other words, there must be a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. This tactic did not tally with the historical conditions of the Chinese revolution. The above-mentioned two tactics were originally different from each other. However, they were put forth ambiguously as the same thing at the Second CPC National Congress. Later, with the change in the situation of the revolutionary struggle, these two tactics were greatly developed. The proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong developed the first tactic, that is, the correct tactic; and the right capitulationists, represented by Chen Duxiu, developed the second tactic, the wrong tactic.

In the high tide of the first great revolution, all social classes in China became active and made known their attitude toward the revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong then made an analysis of all social classes in China by means of the Marxist method of class analysis and pointed out the extreme importance of the proletarian leadership over the peasant struggle. He put forth for the first time the following basic idea of the new democratic revolution: The proletariat must unite with all semiproletariat (chiefly the poor peasants) and petite bourgeoisie (chiefly the middle peasants) who constituted the great majority of the national population; win over the leftwing of the middle classes (chiefly the national bourgeoisie); overthrow the warlords, the bureaucrats, the landlords, the comprador class, and the right-wing of the middle classes; establish rule by all revolutionary classes; oppose the establishment of a state under the role of only one class--the national bourgeoisie, that is, the state under the bourgeois dictatorship; and strive to develop toward socialism.

By putting forth this basic idea, Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out the objective, motive force, task, nature, and future of the Chinese democratic revolution. The central question was political power. Lenin said: "The fundamental question in any revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no conscious participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 19) In the period from the winter of 1925 to 1926 when the first great revolution had reached high tide, Comrade Mao Zedong already put forth the basic idea of establishing a state power under the proletarian leadership and with the worker-peasant alliance as its

foundation. This shows that the proletarian revolutionaries, chiefly represented by him, had consciously got onto the path of leading the Chinese democratic revolution.

Under the guidance of the above-mentioned basic idea, at that time, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other comrades not only paid great attention to the workers' and students' movements in the cities and the leadership in united front work with the KMT, but also to the peasants' movement, armed struggle, and the combination of armed forces and the masses of people. As a result, the CPC and the KMT, which cooperated with each other, wiped out the reactionary armies in Guangdong Province from 1924 to 1925, waged the Northern Expedition from 1926 to 1927, which defeated the northern warlords, occupied a large area along the Changjiang and Huanghe valleys, and achieved great victories in the first great revolution.

On the contrary to what Comrade Mao Zedong did in developing the correct tactic of the Second CPC National Congress, beginning in 1923, Chen Duxiu developed the wrong tactic of this congress. He held "the force of the bourgeoisie is, in the final analysis, more concentrated than that of the peasants, and more powerful than that of the workers." Starting from this wrong estimation of the balance of class forces, he wrongly interpreted the plan for carrying out the Chinese revolution in two stages, which was put forward by the Second CPC National Congress, into the "theory of carrying out the revolution twice," that is, first, China's bourgeois democratic revolution (which was called national revolution at that time), and second, the socialist revolution. The result of the first revolution was "naturally the victory of the bourgeoisie" and that "the bourgeoisie will seize the political power." Obviously, the first revolution in China was likened to the old democratic revolution which had taken place in some West European countries in the last stage of the feudal society under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, and between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, there should be a stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When this "theory of carrying out the revolution twice" was first put forward, it was no more than a kind of "theory" and tentative idea. Most comrades in our party did not act in accordance with this "theory." Instead, they worked hard to strive for "standing in the central position within the KMT" so that the bourgeoisie might follow the political leadership of the proletariat. However, along with the development of the struggle between the bourgeois rightists and the proletariat to contend for the leadership in the revolution, this theory was then no longer a kind of tentative idea, but became an action directly guiding the CPC Central Committee. It thus became a serious harm to the revolution.

The communists and the masses of workers and peasants began to wield political power. This was a new thing and an inevitable result of the victorious development of the Northern Expedition. Originally, the fundamental task for the Northern Expedition was to enable the high tide of the mass movement since the 30 May movement to develop into a struggle to seize state power by armed force, that is, the struggle to overthrow the reactionary power of the northern warlords and establish the people's revolutionary state power. This was the first attempt by the Chinese communists, chiefly represented by

Comrade Mao Zedong, to apply their basic idea of the democratic revolution in the Northern Expedition. However, Chen Duxiu and his followers held that all this ran counter to their "theory of carrying out the revolution twice" which they had mechanically copied from abroad, and did their utmost to stop the communists from doing so. According to them, "seizing state power by the Communist Party is something to do in the period of the proletarian revolution." Since the proletariat and its political power should not seize state power in the first revolution, it was not necessary for the CPC to organize and expand the army under its command and to develop the workers' and peasants' movements independently and with the initiative in its own hands. For this reason, although all the units of the Northern Expeditionary Army were rapidly expanded in the victorious development of the Northern Expedition, the army directly under the command of the Communist Party only achieved a slow development due to the restriction by the CPC Central Committee headed by Chen Duxiu. Although the mass movements of the workers and peasants were developed swiftly and violently during the Northern Expedition, Chen Duxiu and his followers, who had followed Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, and other leaders of the KMT, repeatedly denounced these movements and gave orders to restrict their development. Thus, the victory of the first revolution was then turned into defeat.

## 2. The Formation of the Path of Seizing State Power by Armed Force With Chinese Characteristics

Soon after the failure of the 1927 revolution, the CPC Central Committee held the "7 August" meeting, which criticized Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism and determined the policy of launching the agrarian revolution and armed uprising. At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong briefly spoke on four basic problems: the united front, armed struggle, the building of the party, and the peasants' agrarian revolution. They were, in fact, initial ideas about the "three magic weapons" for the Chinese revolution and the peasants' land problem which he repeatedly expounded later, of which armed struggle, the agrarian revolution, and seizing state power were particularly closely interrelated. He pointed out that "in the future, it is necessary to pay great attention to military affairs, for political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Thus, he began to touch on the problem concerning the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics. With the breaking out of armed uprisings in various parts of the country, the Chinese revolution entered a new period of creating the Red Army and launching the agrarian revolutionary war.

In leading the armed uprisings and launching the agrarian revolutionary war, the party again had to solve the problem of how to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism on seizing state power by armed force with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolutionary war. At the beginning, the CPC also lacked the experience in this respect. It mainly copied mechanically the experiences of the proletarian political parties in capitalist countries, especially those of the Russian proletarian political party which took the armed uprising of city workers as the center. Under the influence of the instructions of the Communist International and under the guidance of the "theory of taking cities as the center," the CPC Central



Committee and other high-level leading organs of the party continued to stay in Shanghai and other big cities for a long time and the focus of work was still placed on the workers' movement in cities. The main objective of the armed uprising, which was being prepared, was also to seize the key cities and then advance toward the countryside. Under the guidance of this erroneous ideology, the "leftist" adventurists within the party repeatedly ordered the revolutionary masses in key cities, who were small in number at that time, to launch armed uprising, and ordered the Red Army to attack cities. As a result, the small revolutionary organizations in the cities, which had been preserved and accumulated under the extremely perilous conditions after the failure of the 1927 revolution, were completely destroyed by the enemy, and the Red Army and Red guerrillas also suffered serious losses when they attacked the cities.

The failure of the "theory of taking cities as the center" was inevitable, because it was a theory being mechanically copied from abroad and completely divorced from China's reality after the failure of the 1927 revolution. At that time, the KMT warlords, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, had established a reactionary state apparatus, which was more powerful than that of the old warlords, with the army, police, and special agents as its pillar. The key cities were places where their counterrevolutionary forces were most concentrated and powerful and where they were on close guard against the revolution. On the other hand, however, due to the failure of the revolution, the revolutionary organizations in the cities were already seriously destroyed. The remaining party members and revolutionary masses, very few in number, had to work in secrecy. Under such circumstances, to expose in public the small number of party members and revolutionary masses who were working in secrecy and order them to fight a decisive battle with the enemy through armed uprising was, in reality, sending the secret party organizations, which could not be discovered by the enemy after detecting and pursuing in a thousand and one ways, to the jaws of death. It was impossible for such uprising to win victory.

This is one side of things. We must also see the other side. At that time, China was a big country and a semicolonial and semifeudal country with uneven political and economic development. Moreover, it had experienced the first great revolution. The new KMT warlords were only able to concentrate their main forces in the cities, and were unable to do so in the vast countryside. They especially were unable to widely establish powerful counterrevolutionary rule in those remote rural areas. Besides, the constant tangled fighting between various factions of the KMT warlords also had weakened their strength in taking concerted action to suppress the people's struggles in the vast countryside. Therefore, in the countryside, where the counterrevolutionary forces were relatively weaker and where there was a better mass foundation, it was possible to restore and develop the revolutionary struggle led by the party, or even to wipe out the local White political power and establish the Red one.

All this shows that after the failure of the 1927 revolution, throughout the whole country the revolution was at a low tide. The general task for the party should have been to organize retreat rather than organize attack

or launch armed uprising to seize state power. However, in some rural areas, the party was able to organize attack or even to launch armed uprising, carry out guerrilla warfare, start the agrarian revolution, destroy the local counterrevolutionary power, establish the Red political power and rural revolutionary bases under the leadership of the CPC, establish an "armed independent regime of workers and peasants," and encircle the cities under the counterrevolutionary rule from the revolutionary rural areas. This was the only correct path for turning defeat into victory in the Chinese revolution after 1927, which was different from that of the proletarian political parties in various European countries, characterized by taking cities as the center of the revolution. It was an objective law governing the development of the Chinese revolution, which is independent of man's will. Comrade Mao Zedong was the chief representative of those who had first recognized this objective law and successfully shifted the focus of work from the cities to the countryside, and who had put forth the path of seizing political power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, the path of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them.

In September 1927, at the beginning of the Autumn Harvest Uprising in Hunan, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee also planned to seize Changsha, capital of this province. Having suffered several defeats in attacking some towns and cities around Changsha, Comrade Mao Zedong made an analysis of the situation at that time and held that under the conditions that the enemy forces were big and strong and our own forces were small and weak and that the revolution was at a low tide, it was impossible to attack and capture such key cities as Changsha and it was inadvisable to continue to stay in Pingjiang, Liuyang, and other places near Changsha. Therefore, starting from the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, in which the leadership of the proletariat was of great importance in the peasant struggles, and in accordance with the idea of "going up to mountainous areas" which he conceived many times during July and August 1927, he unhesitatingly led the remaining forces which had taken part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising to march toward the Jinggangshan area, where there was a better foundation for the revolution and where the enemy forces were comparatively weaker. In October, the first typical rural revolutionary base was established there.

The Red political power, encircled ring upon ring by the White political power and constantly "encircled and suppressed" by the superior enemy forces, was yet able to exist in a small area of Jinggangshan. This was unparalleled in world history. Some people raised the following question at that time: "How long could the Red flag fight on?" This was the most basic question. If it was not answered, the Chinese revolution would not be able to move a step forward. Therefore, in May 1928, at the first CPC congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi border area, Comrade Mao Zedong gave an initial answer to this question. In October 1928, at the second CPC congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi border area, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted the resolution "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" to give a further answer to the question. In this resolution, in light of the characteristics of Chinese society and the Chinese revolution, which were different from those in various capitalist countries, he scientifically

expounded the main conditions for the long-term existence and development of Red political power in China. The abundant revolutionary practice and experiences of the existence and development of Red political power in southern Jiangxi, western Fujian, northeastern Jiangxi, and many other places during 1929 and 1930 proved that Comrade Mao Zedong's viewpoints were in conformity with the characteristics of Chinese society and the Chinese revolution. However, some people still continued to mechanically copy the experience of the Russian October Revolution, holding that destroying the reactionary political power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the political power of the proletariat were important things which should be done when the national revolution reached its high tide and a general armed uprising was launched in the whole country and should not be done at ordinary times. When Comrade Mao Zedong, Zhu De, and others led the Red Fourth Army to fight hard battles in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian, Lin Biao held that it was a vain attempt to establish such political power in the period long before the arrival of the revolutionary high tide, hoping that political influence might be expanded by means of an easier and simpler method of mobile guerrilla warfare, and that a nationwide armed uprising be launched until the work to win over the masses was done well in various parts of the country. Other people held that the shifting of the focus of work of the party from the cities to the countryside would enable the peasant forces to develop more rapidly than the workers' forces in the cities, which would be unfavorable for the proletarian revolutionary cause.

In view of the above-mentioned harmful viewpoint, which was characterized by mechanically copying foreign experiences to the neglect of China's reality, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a long letter ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire") to Lin Biao in January 1930, in which he criticized that the latter's theory was not in conformity with the actual situation of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly pointed out: The Red political power in China was a product of sharp contradictions in China's semicolonial and semifeudal society. "In semicolonial China, the establishment and expansion of the Red Army, the guerrilla forces, and the Red areas is the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, the inevitable outcome of the growth of the semicolonial peasant struggle, and undoubtedly the most important factor in accelerating the revolutionary high tide throughout the country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 95) After summing up the experiences of the Red Army and Red political power in various localities and those in the construction of rural revolutionary bases, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the policy of purely mobile guerrilla action brought forth by Lin Biao and others cannot enhance the revolutionary high tide, while "the policy of establishing base areas, systematically setting up political power, deepening the agrarian revolution, and expanding the people's armed forces" and other relevant policies were correct. (Ibid., p 95) Only thus was it possible to accelerate the revolutionary high tide throughout the country. Was the revolutionary cause of the proletariat thus harmed as the party's focus of work was shifted to the countryside and the development of the peasant forces outstripped that of the forces of the workers in cities? Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the revolution in semicolonial China, it was the peasant struggle which failed when it did not have the leadership



of the workers, but the revolution was never harmed when developments in the peasant struggle outstripped the forces of the workers." (Ibid., p 99)

In this way, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the only correct path for the development of the Chinese revolution after the failure of the 1927 revolution. The characteristics of this path were: Shifting the party's focus of work from cities to the countryside, carrying out guerrilla warfare in rural areas, deepening the agrarian revolution, destroying local White political power, establishing Red political power, changing the backward countryside into advanced revolutionary bases and using these bases to fight against the first enemy who relied on the cities to attack the countryside, encircling the cities from rural areas so as to gradually train, accumulate, and develop the revolutionary forces in the long-term struggle and gradually wipe out the enemy forces, and then attack and seize the key cities, seize state power, and win victory in the revolution throughout the country when the situation in which the enemy forces were big and strong and our own forces were small and weak was reversed. This was an application and development of the basic principle of Marxism on seizing state power by armed force in light of China's conditions and the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics.

While creating the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, which was characterized by encircling the cities from rural areas and then capturing them, Comrade Mao Zedong also worked out a series of important policies and principles to suit the needs of following this path, such as the policy for the agrarian revolution, the policy toward the middle classes, the policy for building new-style People's Army, the strategy and tactics of relying on the People's Army and the broad masses of people to defeat the superior enemy, the principle of building the party under the military situation and in the countryside, and so forth. Since Comrade Mao Zedong had opened up, by pooling the wisdom of the masses, the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, which was characterized by encircling the cities from rural areas, and worked out and practiced the policy for party building, the military line, and the line for the agrarian revolution, which suited the needs of following this path, the failure of the 1927 revolution was successfully turned into the rise of the agrarian revolutionary war, and the party and the Red Army were continuously developed and became stronger and stronger in victoriously smashing the encirclement and suppression of the enemy forces.

However, at that time, the dogmatists, represented by Wang Ming, were in a dominant position in the CPC Central Committee. Under the signboard of "100 percent Bolshevik," they called for carrying out the "international line" to the letter and in an all-round way, and slandered the line, policies, and principles put forward by the Chinese communists, chiefly represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, which were in conformity with China's national situation, as the "line of the rich peasants" and "an extremely serious and consistent right opportunist mistake." They dismissed Mao Zedong and other comrades from their leadership posts in the party and the Red Army and compelled others to implement the "leftist" adventurist line. As a result, the revolutionary forces in the revolutionary bases and in White areas suffered

great losses. The Red Army was reduced from 300,000 to about 30,000 men, and the number of party members from 300,000 to about 40,000.

In order to save the party and the Red Army, which were at a critical juncture, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Zunyi in January 1935 during the Long March. The meeting reaffirmed the military line formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong, which suited the characteristics of the Chinese revolutionary war, and established the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. The Zunyi meeting was the first meeting at which the CPC Central Committee independently applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in correctly solving the problems concerning the future of the Chinese revolution. It was the symbol showing that the CPC had grown up and become mature, and a symbol showing that Mao Zedong Thought, which was a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, had occupied the dominant position in the CPC Central Committee.

### 3. The Development and Final Victory of the Path of Seizing State Power by Armed Force With Chinese Characteristics

At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, Wang Ming and others still opposed the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, which was characterized by encircling the cities from rural areas and then capturing them. These people, who were used to mechanically copying the instructions of the Communist International to the neglect of China's characteristics, now turned their "leftist" stand into a rightist one. They had more faith in the KMT than in the masses of workers and peasants. They placed their focus of work in the key cities which were under the KMT rule and placed their hopes for the victory of the war of resistance against Japan on the participation of the KMT troops in the war. They looked down upon the important role played by launching anti-Japanese guerrilla wars in the vast countryside in the enemy's rear areas. In view of this, Comrade Mao Zedong, starting from and guided by the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, made a profound analysis on the characteristics of the Chinese society and the Chinese revolution, and a further exposition on the theory of seizing state power by armed force, which was characterized by encircling the cities from rural areas and then capturing them.

Comrade Mao Zedong first outlined the characteristics of the Chinese way of seizing state power by armed force, which were different from those in ordinary capitalist countries. Under the conditions that the bourgeois democratic system still existed, the proletarian political parties in various capitalist countries could carry out long-term legal struggle and start armed uprising and war to seize political power when conditions were ripe. "China is different however. The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semicolonial and semifeudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression, and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the

Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse." "In China, war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization." "Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 507-509)

Comrade Mao Zedong also concretely expounded the question of whether victory could be won through encircling cities from rural areas in the war of resistance against Japan. He said: "The enemy has occupied China's main cities and vital communication lines. We are in the countryside, fighting against the enemy in the cities. Can the countryside defeat the cities? The answer is: Yes, it can, but there are still difficulties." This was because "there are differences in nature between the present cities and countryside in China and those in foreign capitalist countries." In China, which was a big country and a semicolonial country, "although the cities also play the role of leadership, they cannot completely control the countryside, because they are too small and the countryside is too large. The main human and material resources are in the countryside rather than in the cities." Thus, there were "many favorable conditions for us to organize and persist in long-term and large-scale wars, to oppose the enemy in the cities, to encircle and isolate the cities through jigsaw pattern warfare, to build up our own strength through long-term war and change the situation between ourselves and the enemy, and, with the change of the world situation, to drive out the enemy and recapture the cities." ("On the New Stage")

In order to carry out the struggle to encircle the cities from rural areas, just as was pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, "it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas; into great military, political, economic, and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 598) That is, the struggle to encircle the cities from rural areas covered a very wide range including the military, political, economic, and cultural fields. And military struggle was the most important aspect. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically summed up the experiences and lessons of the agrarian revolutionary war, conscientiously studied the characteristics of both the Chinese and Japanese sides in the war of resistance against Japan, and worked out a series of strategy and tactics for launching the people's war to resist Japanese aggressors and finally defeat them. He pointed out with particular emphasis the strategic position of anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. He said that China was a large and weak country, being attacked by Japan, a small, but strong country, when this large and weak country was in an era of progress. "It is in these circumstances that vast areas have come under enemy occupation and that the war has become a protracted one. The enemy is occupying vast areas of this large country of ours, but Japan is a small country, and she does not have sufficient soldiers and has to leave many gaps in the occupied areas, so that our anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare consists primarily not in interior-line operations in support of the campaigns of the regular

troops but in independent operations on exterior lines; furthermore, China is progressive; that is, she has a staunch army and broad masses of people, both led by the Communist Party, so that, far from being on a small scale, our anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is in fact a large-scale warfare. Hence, the emergence of a whole series of problems, such as the strategic defensive, the strategic offensive, and so forth. The protracted nature of the war and its attendant ruthlessness have made it imperative for guerrilla warfare to undertake many unusual tasks; hence, such problems as those of the base areas, the development of guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare, and so on. For all these reasons, China's guerrilla warfare against Japan has broken out of the bounds of tactics to knock at the gates of strategy, and it demands examination from the viewpoint of strategy." (Ibid., p 374) According to the above-mentioned analysis, we can see that the CPC Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong required the whole party and whole army to change, in strategy, the method of concentrating troops to engage in mobile warfare, which was used in the later stage of the civil war, into the method of dispersing troops to engage in guerrilla warfare, to shift the focus of work from the enemy's rear area to the vast rural areas. Practice showed that this strategic change from mobile warfare to guerrilla warfare was a correct strategic decision completely in conformity with the actual situation of both the enemy and ourselves after the war of resistance against Japan broke out.

However, at that time, some people were opposed to Comrade Mao Zedong's correct strategic decision, and advocated concentrating troops to engage in large battles, regardless of the actual conditions. At that time, if the more than 30,000-strong Eighth Route Army which had entered northern China had engaged with the powerful Japanese invading army, which had been gradually increased to some 300,000 men, what would the result have been? Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We will achieve nothing at all if we concentrate our troops to fight battles at present." "Today, on the question of fighting a decisive battle, the Red Army cannot play a decisive role. However, it can play a decisive role in a game it is good at, that is, in independently carrying out guerrilla warfare (not mobile warfare) in mountainous areas. In order to implement this policy, strategically, it is necessary to mass effective forces on the enemy's flanks, to take as our main task establishing bases and mobilizing the masses, and to disperse troops rather than concentrating troops in fighting battles. If we concentrate our troops to fight battles, we will be unable to do mass work; if we do mass work, we cannot concentrate our troops to fight battles. These two cannot be done at the same time. The only method to subdue the enemy in a decisive manner and help friendly forces is to disperse our forces to do mass work." (A Telegram to Comrade Peng Dehuai on 21 September 1937)

In short, before and after the war of resistance against Japan broke out, the CPC Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, summed up the experiences and lessons in carrying out armed struggle since the founding of the party, shifted the focus of work to the broad rural area in the enemy's rear, and realized in good time the strategic change from the method of concentrating troops to engage in mobile warfare, which was adopted in the later period of the civil war, to the method of dispersing



troops to engage in guerrilla warfare. As a result, an unparalleled great victory was achieved. In other words, in the period of the war of resistance against Japan, the path of seizing political power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, which was created by the Chinese communists, chiefly represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, during the agrarian revolutionary war period, was greatly developed on the vast land throughout the country and became a great reality. This was not only the only correct path toward the final victory in the war of resistance against Japan, but also the only correct path toward finally seizing the state power in the whole country and accomplishing the historical task of new democratic revolution. Just as was pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, it led to the establishment of the people's political power under the leadership of the Communist Party and a "society that is new-democratic" in character in various anti-Japanese base areas. "When the example of the anti-Japanese base areas is extended throughout the country, then the whole of China will become a new-democratic republic." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 743)

After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, with the aid of the imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek refused the just demands of our party and the people throughout the country for realizing peace in China and outrageously launched an all-out civil war in June 1946. Unhesitatingly, the CPC Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, led the PLA to counter-attack the enemy. In the second half of 1947, when the PLA had changed from strategic defensive to strategic offensive, Comrade Mao Zedong timely put forth the 10 major military principles, which summed up the experiences of our army in defeating the enemy troops in the past two decades and pointed out that under the conditions that great changes had taken place in the relative strength of the enemy forces and our own, the long-term strategic policy since 1927 against attacking and occupying big cities should be changed and that preparations should be made and action should be taken to attack and occupy the cities, which were firmly guarded by the enemy troops, so as to fight a strategic decisive battle with the concentrated and powerful enemy troops. From September 1948 to January 1949, in accordance with the arrangements of the Central Military Commission headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the PLA successively launched the Liaoxi-Shenyang, the Huai Hai, and the Beiping-Tianjin campaigns, wiped out the main military forces Chiang Kai-shek had relied on to maintain his reactionary rule, and liberated the big cities in northeastern and northern China as well as in eastern China north of the Changjiang. The destruction of the KMT regime and the founding of the PRC symbolized the final victory of the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, the path of encircling the cities from rural areas and then capturing them.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In the past, when we carried out the democratic revolution, it was necessary to suit the revolution to China's conditions and follow the path of encircling the cities from rural areas opened up by Comrade Mao Zedong. At present, when we carry out the construction, we must also suit the construction to China's conditions and open up a new path of Chinese-style modernization." ("Selected Works of

Deng Xiaoping," p 149) By reviewing the historical course of Comrade Mao Zedong's opening up the path of seizing state power by armed force with Chinese characteristics, we mean to absorb precious experiences from it so that we can better combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality in our country and follow our own path in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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## A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON STUDYING, TEACHING, AND CONDUCTING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 19-22

[Article by Yan Jici [0917 3444 7964]]

[Text]

### I

The results of a person's study, particularly a college student's study, is chiefly determined by himself. Book study develops from a lower to a higher level; it undergoes the process from attending lectures to reading (studying on one's own) and then to application (looking up in books what one wants to apply).

Attending lectures is a student's basic systematic method for learning knowledge. In order to study well, it is imperative to be able to understand the lectures. The ability to understand lectures means to grasp the key points which are taught by the teachers in the classroom, to fully understand basic concepts, to positively think deeply and connect them in the mind, and to understand how to apply them. After classes, some college students rely on mechanical memorization for passing examinations and do not learn any real knowledge. I believe that it is imperative for our students to listen carefully to classroom lectures, to fully understand basic concepts, and to do more homework after class. Doing homework can deepen their understanding, enable them to thoroughly master what they study, and develop their ability in thinking and solving problems. If a student cannot work out an exercise, then he really does not understand it; and even if he can work out every exercise, it does not mean that he understands them, because sometimes he does the exercises merely by mechanically applying some formula. By knowing what you understand and what you do not understand, you can formulate a way to understand it. In such a case, fewer exercises are necessary. This is the principle we call: "One must be honest whether he understands what he learns or not."

Through attending lectures for many years, a student learns some basic knowledge, and masters some basic study methods and also means of study (including the means of writing and doing experiments) and thus, he can study intensively by himself. If a book is thoroughly read correctly from the beginning to the end, he will sooner or later understand it. That is why some people in their study rely on their own so as to become a person of talent.

When you reach a certain stage, you need not read all books, because it is impossible to read all books in the world and, moreover, quite a few books are written only for reference and not for general reading. Man has a limited memory, and it is impossible for him to become a walking library. Thus, it is necessary to learn how to look up what you need in a book. Then, in case you need it, you can read it over again. In the process of solving certain problems in your work, when you need certain knowledge, you look it up in certain books and locate the chapters and sections which you need. When you read something you cannot understand, you turn back to previous chapters and sections; it is not necessary to read the book chapter by chapter or section by section from the beginning to the end. Quite obviously, the ability to look up what you need in books is based on the extensive reading of many books. Reading extensively does not mean to read meticulously and thoroughly. If you "close your eyes" and can "remember" what is said in a certain part of a certain book, you will have what you need to use right in your hands. Thus, it is not necessary to read it meticulously and thoroughly or to mechanically memorize it.

In imagination, the process of the development of study which proceeds from listening to lectures, reading and then to application, is precisely a process of "the more you study a book, the thinner it becomes." When we read a book, we must master its essence. What remains is to apply it time and again in practice. Practice makes perfect.

How then are we to know if we understand certain problems? As a matter of fact, our common concept of understanding differs greatly. Once you understand certain problems thoroughly and comprehensively, you realize that in the past, you really did not understand it. Do you really understand it now? Perhaps, in the future, we will look at the saying "when we recall present things in the future it is the same as we now look at things in the past," as again being true. Therefore, there is a deepening process of "understanding." Understanding and nonunderstanding is only a relative idea. That is why "we know where we fall short when we learn more."

Everyone should find a study method which they find suitable. They should find their own strong points in book study and then develop these strong points. Some people carry out book study most effectively in the morning, others in the evening; some people have a facile imagination, are quick to understand, and give opinions, while others are very calm in emergencies; and some use their hands very well, while others are good at using their minds in logical thinking. In short, everything and every person in the world differs in thousands of ways. Students under the same teacher, although all taught by this same teacher, are each different.

In the final analysis, the result of a person's study is determined by himself. It is certainly good if one has a good teacher. However, if one does not have good teachers to teach him, he can still find on his own a study method which suits him and thus be able to study well. This does not mean that we can dispense with teachers. The guidance of teachers is certainly very important. However, even if one has good teachers, he cannot become a



man of talents if he does not work hard on his own and relies on himself to make great efforts and explore and blaze new trails on his own.

In the current period of rapid development of science and technology, natural science and social science are even more closely related and overlap each other. This has given rise to quite a few frontier sciences. Therefore, students of science and engineering should read some books on liberal arts. Similarly, students of liberal arts should also read some books on science and engineering. Only by having some knowledge of social sciences as well as understanding the knowledge of natural sciences and thus possessing both knowledge about their professions and general knowledge about other subjects, can our students of science and engineering meet the demands of the four modernizations.

## II

Satisfactorily carrying out teaching work is a binding duty of our teachers. If a college teacher wants to satisfactorily carry out his work of teaching, apart from having actual learning, he must have courage, his teaching content must be concise, and he should be good at enlightening his students and discovering people of talents.

First, I will deal with courage, to which our middle-aged and young teachers should attach particular importance. Those comrades who have been teachers for a relatively long time, have rich teaching experiences, and can teach effectively, are certainly of the opinion that in a sense, giving lectures is the same as giving scientific speeches and that teaching is a kind of performing art. If a teacher is ill at ease and full of starts and stops in giving lectures, and if he reads his lecture notes or always writes on the blackboard with his back turned to his students, he will certainly make his students fall asleep. A good teacher should be an actor. When he gives lectures, he "enters into the spirit of the character he portrays" and gives a performance as if "there are no people before him." On the one hand, he uses his own words to expound on what is stated in the book he teaches. On the other hand, he should use vivid gestures and facial expressions to give lively lectures. By so doing, the students will be attracted by the facial expressions and led unconsciously to explore the realm of science. How can you achieve this? This requires that teachers really master all the content of the lectures so satisfactorily that it can be applied at will, that they give both lengthy and detailed lectures and simple and short lectures, lectures dealing with any aspect of the subject, both detailed lectures on your subject that are a year in length or simple lectures lasting a month that give only an outline of your subject. By that time, what is taught will be like the ball shuffled in the hands of an acrobat who can shuffle it in any manner, throw it in any direction, and recover it in his hands with ease. In order to achieve this, teachers' knowledge must be much more and deeper than what you give in your lectures. My personal opinion is that one should not give lectures on what he has to make preparations for immediately before the lectures. On the contrary, he should give lectures only on what he can teach without making preparations and he should not give lectures on what he has to make preparations for.

Only when a teacher has proficient mastery of the subject and can use his own words to give his lectures can he achieve the goal of giving his lectures in a concise manner, as was upheld by Chairman Mao, and can he make difficult subjects easy to understand. To be honest, if you only read books to your students in giving them lectures, what you spend 1 hour to read can be read by them in only 1/2 hour. Even if a good teacher has written some notes and books, he does not give his lectures in complete accordance with his notes and books, but only expounds on the most wonderful part of them. Why? Let me give a comparison. Writing books can be compared with writing novels, while giving lectures can be compared with putting on a play. If you adapt a novel into a play, you give only a few numbered acts and scenes. Many incidents between two acts are omitted. You can give an account of what is omitted in a few words in the following act and then the audience will know what is omitted. You need not show every incident on the stage. What is shown on the stage is always the most wonderful passages and the most moving scenes which need to be given an artistic performance.

Moreover, if one wants to teach well, he must understand his students. After one's lecture, he should talk at random with his students to make an oral examination of them. It takes less than 1/2 hours for him to query them on all he has taught them in the lecture. As a result, he will know to what extent his students have mastered the knowledge given in his lecture and will be able to make his lectures more suited to the students and more effective. Now, some teachers do not understand their students, nor do they know the difference in their students' ability to understand his lectures. They copy passages from various books before giving their lectures and cram their students with these passages in giving their lectures. Though they have many years of experience in giving lectures, the effect of their lectures is poor.

A good teacher should be good at enlightening his students and at discovering people of talents and should teach students in accordance with their aptitude. When you are talking about a basic concept in giving a lecture, you should arouse your students to associate the concept with other things in their minds and use examples of other cases based on one instance. Only by so doing can he make his lectures interesting. He should give an account of what gave rise to the problem that he is to expound on in his lecture and how this problem was wonderfully solved. He should also tell his students what similar problems there are and what problems related to it have not yet been solved. This is the "heuristic method" we have often mentioned. It can arouse the students' interest step by step, lead the students to the path of climbing the peaks in science and technology, and inspire them with increasingly lofty aspiration and great ideals. Our college students now are of fine quality, hardworking, and ambitious to become Einsteins and Madam Curies. They all want to bring credit to our country and make more contributions to the four modernizations. We teachers must do our best to help them become people of talents. If because of our poor teaching, a youth has increasingly less instead of more lofty aspirations and great ideals with each passing year after entering a higher education institute, loses his vigor to forge ahead, and begins to hang

back, we have led him astray and have let him down, and let down the party and the state. This is what we teachers and school managers must be on our guard against.

### III

Many students plan to become postgraduates, and some students will be directly sent to do scientific research work in research institutes when they graduate from college. People often ask: What are the characteristics of scientific research work? What qualifications must a man have to become a scientific research worker?

In my opinion, the most important characteristic of scientific research work is the exploration into what is unknown. This is precisely where the significance of a scientific research achievement lies. Engels said: "Science is precisely aimed at research into what we do not know." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 541) Scientific research work means the work in discovering new ideas in theory and making new inventions in technology, that is, the creative work in theory or practice. Creative work means you are the first to solve a difficult problem in an unknown realm. The research result must be what people have not made before and other people must be able to repeat it. The idea you get must have never been put forth by anybody before you and other people must be able to gradually accept it. In short, scientific research work results completely rely on what is created by you and the collective in which you do your research work on the basis of the achievements of our predecessors.

Therefore, a scientific research worker should undergo training and should have guidance from some tutors. In the sphere of learning, one must have two aspects of ability: 1) the ability to put forth questions; and 2) the ability to be good at solving questions.

First, you should put forth new problems in your research field on the basis of the work done by other people at home and abroad. This means that you should find an appropriate problem to research. This problem must be one that can be solved in a short time through making efforts. It should not be one for which there is no hope of it being solved through 10 or 20 years of efforts. This is an important sign by which we distinguish between junior, medium-level, and senior research workers. Junior workers are to fulfill certain research tasks assigned by others in a prescribed field and for a selected subject; medium-level research workers can find relatively appropriate problems to research and independently solve them; and senior research workers, besides being able to do creative work, must have the ability to guide research work and assign research fields and topics to other people. Therefore, it is very important for a postgraduate and college graduate who has just left college to find a good tutor. What kind of tutor should he look for? An old one or a young one? I say each has his strong and weak points. A young tutor is himself busy in doing research work and has already arranged your tasks. Therefore, you may make achievements in 1 year or 6 months. This will be favorable for the training of a postgraduate. However, as you only take part in a part of the research

work, in spite of the fact that you have jointly made achievements and published theses together with your tutors, you still cannot, perhaps, fully understand the mystery and profound significance of your research. If you are doing research work abroad, you may be treated as a part of the labor force by your tutors. When you return to your own country, you will perhaps be unable to repeat what you have done abroad. On the other hand, if your tutor is old, he is very busy and can only point out to you a direction, and many concrete difficulties have to be overcome by yourself. It takes more time for you to achieve any results, but it can train your competence in doing your work independently. Another favorable factor in working under such tutors is that those who make contact with the tutors are mostly well-known scholars. When they come to visit where you work, they exchange greetings and shake hands with you, ask you questions, and thus make you feel enlightened and encouraged. This heightens your confidence in overcoming difficulties and helps you to break the obstacles in your work.

In addition, scientific research workers are required to be good at solving problems. Creative work is in fact a process of overcoming difficulties. If you are able to overcome the difficulties and solve the problem, you will give rise to new things. This is what you call a creative result. In doing scientific research work, you will always meet some difficulties. What is the need for you to do research if there is no difficulty? The more the difficulties, the more important the result of your research and the more significant your creative work. By a person's ability in independently doing research work, we mean whether or not he has the ability, resolution, and confidence in overcoming the difficulty. A person's ability is trained in the process of continuously overcoming difficulties. The training of people is precisely the training to acquire the ability to overcome difficulties. The question of whether a person is able to do research work is not determined by the number of books he has read, but by his ability to overcome difficulties.

What can be regarded as scientific research work of first grade? First, the research topics must be unique in the realm of the unknown in science. Second, there are no existing methods to solve the problem and one must independently develop his own specific method. Finally, the tools for using this method and the equipment and instruments of your experiment must be designed and created by yourself instead of being purchased from somewhere. If you can achieve this, we can say that your scientific research work is of first grade.

In our colleges, scientific research work must be closely combined with the work of teaching. Now, we need to do a good job of scientific research, and we need to do a good job of teaching even more. The work of teaching interacts with scientific research. A college must become a center of education and scientific research centered on education. Those who are engaged in the work of teaching should at the same time do some scientific research work or should be people who did research work in the past. Those who are engaged in scientific research should do some teaching work in order to make more contact with young people. This will help them think over some questions.



When a teacher has satisfactorily done his work of teaching and scientific research and accumulated experiences for a long time, he will begin to write books on his own. We can say that writing books is a summing up of one's work of teaching and scientific research. Writing a good book, particularly a textbook, is of great significance. In order to write a good book, one has to weed out the old to bring forth the new and have his own style. He should never copy what has been written by other people. Writing a book is like the work of bees in making honey and of silkworms in spinning silk. Bees make what they collected from flowers into pure and sweet honey. Silkworms eat leaves but turn them into silk through their digestion. The process of collecting and making honey can be regarded as a process of widely collecting the strong points of all, while the process of silkworms in spinning cocoons is indeed accomplished without any interruption. How, then, can one write with his "own style"? The answer is that one's book should have his own characteristics. Except for figures, formulas, and tables, one should do his best to expound on problems in his own words. When other people read your books, they seem to be listening to your speech. Our young and medium-aged teachers must have the courage to write books and must strive toward this direction.

In short, if a person wants to achieve something, he must work with single-hearted devotion to gain professional proficiency, and he even has to give up something. French novelist Guy de Maupassant said: "If a man devotes himself to science, he no longer has any right to live in the same way as ordinary people."

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## ELIMINATE SPIRITUAL POLLUTION, PROMOTE THE PROSPERITY OF LITERATURE AND ART CREATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 23-25

[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]]

[Text] The important policy decision made by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front will certainly give enormous impetus and contribute an apparent prosperity to socialist literature and art. I am confident of this. As for how to eliminate spiritual pollution and further develop creation in socialist literature and art, I would like to say something in the following three areas.

First of all, it is necessary to uphold the four basic principles and to wipe out thoroughly the influence of the theory of "socialist alienation" on literature and art creation. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have achieved, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, relatively enormous progress in literature and art creation, with publication of a number of outstanding works through the effort of implementing the principle of emancipating people's minds and setting things to right on the literature and art front, repudiating the theory of "literature and art being dominated by the sinister line" advocated by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, and wiping out the influence of "leftist" erroneous views. Our achievements, which are the main aspect of our work, must be affirmed. However, we must be aware that there are still a number of questions which remain unsolved on the literature and art front, which remains surrounded by considerable confusion. We must not, in particular, underestimate the negative influences exerted on literature and art creation by the erroneous philosophical thinking and social ideological trend derived from the theory of "socialist alienation." Upon its appearance as a philosophical point of view, the so-called theory of "socialist alienation" immediately became a pillar sustaining bourgeois liberalization in creative writing. Some people said: "The alienation of people under socialist conditions" should become the "major theme of literature" and literature and art should protest against and criticize the "alienation" in actual life. Some said: "The exposure of the phenomenon of alienation makes literary and artistic creation more open to the exposure of social life." Some termed the writing

about "socialist alienation" a "new phase" in China's socialist literature, and even described it as the orientation for the development of China's literature and art in the new period and called on people "to make continued efforts in this direction." Guided by such a theory, some comrades were mad on writing about the alienation from "being human" to "being inhuman," the alienation from being "public servants" to being "masters," the alienation of relations between leaders and the masses, and the alienation in the ideological, political, and economic fields and in state power. For some time, the theme of "alienation" was rampant in creative writing, which distorted the image of our party, army, and socialist motherland and spread doubts about the party and socialism among readers, thus bringing about grave spiritual pollution.

The theory of "socialist alienation" deviates from the basic viewpoint of Marxism. Therefore, it cannot lead writers and artists in a correct direction in observing and depicting the real life of socialism. The literary works guided by such an erroneous theory always confuse the dark side of socialist society with the alienation under the capitalist system, attribute the source of such "alienation" to the "strengthening" of the state apparatus by the party, and direct the spearhead of criticism at the party leadership and socialist system. This results inevitably in obscuring the distinction between socialism and capitalism, thus blackening the party leadership and the socialist system. Facts show that if our literary and artistic creation is guided by the theory of "socialist alienation," then our literature and art will certainly be led astray toward doubting and shaking the four basic principles and departing from socialist literature and art. This runs counter to the sacred duty shouldered by our literature and art of building socialist spiritual civilization. Therefore, the clearing away of harmful effects of the theory of "socialist alienation" demonstrated in literary and artistic creation is a matter of significance which is related to the future of socialist literature and art as a whole and is a question of fundamental importance which has a bearing on whether the socialist banner of literature and art will be held aloft or not.

Second, it is necessary to make criticism and self-criticism by keeping to the stand of Marxism. In his speech at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping noted: The feasible method to solve the problem of confusion on the ideological front is still the practice of criticism and self-criticism. This is very important. Socialist literary and artistic creation cannot be rejuvenated without the practice of criticism and self-criticism. What is correct invariably makes progress in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The weapon of making criticism and self-criticism cannot be abandoned. Promoting socialist literature and art criticism is a major method adopted by the party in leading literature and art. Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the correct policy for promoting a flourishing socialist literature and art; we must carry it out firmly and unswervingly. However, we should not make the practice of criticism and self-criticism conflict with the "double-hundred" policy. When erroneous views are aired, Marxists must stand up for truth. Viewing the "double-hundred" policy as "absolute freedom" to air views is misinterpretation of Marxist policy into the policy of bourgeois liberalism.

For some time in the past, criticism was made of the erroneous ideological trends on the literature and artistic front and of some bad literary works, yet no noticeable results were achieved. To solve this question, we must first do away with slackness and oppose liberalism, and then we must improve the quality of literature and art criticism and strengthen militancy. At present, we must first of all change thoroughly the abnormal situation in which people are unwilling or are not bold enough to make criticism and are afraid of hurting others' feelings. Of course, when making criticism and self-criticism, we must keep to the stand of Marxism and must not do it with a one-sided view and in a crude and oversimplified way. We must convince people by reasoning and touch them to the heart with kind persuasion in making criticism. Attention must be paid to drawing a line of distinction between problems of different natures. Some problems are related to political stands and some only to ideas guiding creation in literature and art. Some problems have formed an ideological system and some are only mistakes made in the course of study. We must make a concrete analysis of all these problems. Meanwhile a clear distinction must also be drawn in understanding some ideological and theoretical problems. For example, we say the theory of "socialist alienation" is not part of the Marxist viewpoint, and cannot explain the contradictions in socialist society, but causes ideological confusion in society. This is why we do not agree with such a point of view and must criticize it. However, does this mean that we should not admit to any contradictions in the political, economic, ideological, and other fields, just because the comrades who advocate the theory of "socialist alienation" have pointed out that there is "alienation" in these fields? Or does this mean that any literary works which depict the contradictions in these fields should be regarded as being affected by the theory of "socialist alienation"? No, absolutely not. Moreover, we oppose talking about the problem of human nature in the abstract, but this does not mean that we should oppose "human nature" indiscriminately. It is very harmful that literary works publicize human nature in the abstract and propagate the idea that the enemy should not be conquered through revolutionary war and social progress should not be achieved through class struggle, but through the strength of human nature; consequently, this can accomplish nothing but the negation of the decades-long revolutionary war led by our party and of the people's democratic dictatorship. Our literary works should in no way depict human nature in the abstract and above classes, not restricted by specific historical conditions, but this does not mean that they cannot portray the emotions, souls, and fates of leading roles. Furthermore, we repudiate bourgeois humanism because contemporary bourgeois humanism is an ideological trend which is antagonistic toward Marxism and socialism, but we should not oppose humanism in a general sense either. During the years of revolutionary war, we practiced revolutionary humanism by healing the wounded, rescuing the dying, and giving preferential treatment to captives. Today, we advocate socialist humanism, which epitomizes person-to-person relations and norms of social morality. Therefore, revolutionary humanism and socialist humanism can be and ought to be described in our literary works. In any case, in making criticism and self-criticism, we must take a serious attitude, make cautious analysis, and draw a clear distinction between various problems. Only by so doing will it be possible to bring every favorable factor into play and

to remove all unfavorable ones, thus giving a vigorous push to socialist literature and art.

Third, in order to stimulate the development of socialist literature and art, it is particularly necessary at present to guide writers and artists to remold their world outlook. We failed to lay adequate emphasis on this problem for some time in the past, with the result that some writers deviated from the cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, some divorced themselves from the masses of people, and some forgot that they were revolutionary literary fighters. Meanwhile, some party member writers even forgot that they must be first party members, and then writers. For this reason, we have to make greater efforts in two aspects. On the one hand, it is necessary to study hard revolutionary theory. Comrade Deng Xiaoping noted: "Literary and artistic workers must study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and increase their ability to understand and analyze everyday life and to see through the appearance to the essence of things." Adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is an essential prerequisite for victory in the four modernizations and one of the four basic principles which must be upheld ideologically and politically. Over recent years, the press did not give sufficient coverage to the Marxist theory of literature and art, but gave the theory of modernism in Western countries wide coverage. I think it is absolutely necessary to make foreign literary theory serve China. However, if some young literature and art workers know only Jean-Paul Sartre and Sigmund Freud, but know nothing of the Marxist theory of literature and art or the nature of socialist literature and art, then is not such a situation very dangerous? If a proletarian revolutionary literary fighter fails to study hard revolutionary theory, he can hardly avoid being affected by the theory of "socialist alienation," the theory of human nature, and the humanism of the bourgeois classes. This is also proved from the reverse side by the emergence of some mistakes in literary creation and some literary works with unhealthy tendencies. We must be aware that studying the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, its theory of literature and art and its principles of aesthetics as a guide in literary creation is a task which brooks no delay for all literature and art workers.

On the other hand, we must try hard to study society. Our literary works must reflect the features of our great age and enthusiastically eulogize pacesetters of the new era. To achieve this, writers should not be indifferent to the present struggle being waged by hundreds of millions of people, but should immerse themselves among the masses of people of the new era. Only by so doing will it be possible for them to create educative and inspiring literary works. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The people need the arts, and the arts need the people still more. In the final analysis, the road to the prosperity of our socialist literature and art is to tap material, themes, plots, language, and subject matter for poetry and paintings from the people's lives and to inspire ourselves with the spirit of struggle which the people manifest in creating history." Living among the masses and joining the revolutionary ranks during wartime, the old generation of writers and artists created many brilliant works. Plunging into the real struggle of socialist revolution and construction after liberation,



the vast number of literature and art workers have also produced many good works. Those writers and artists engaging in the creation of works with military themes have done a good job too. A great number of outstanding works emerging in recent years were actually created based on the authors' personal experiences in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea in the 1950's, the self-defense counteroffensive against Vietnam in the 1970's, the project of diversion of the Luan He to Tianjin in the 1980's, various emergency operations and disaster relief works, and the regular training activities of the troops. Our revolutionary literature and art workers have had a fine tradition of experiencing the reality of life. However, some people nowadays regard such a practice as miserable experience and particularly yearn for their own small circles. Indifferent to depicting the fiery struggle of the masses, they declare that they "disdain to sing the praises of the great achievements beyond their concern." I am sure that those who isolate themselves from society and the people will never be able to create any great works.

The task of studying theory and that of observation of society were put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in the Yanan forum on literature and art. It was through studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and observing society that the vast number of revolutionary literature and art workers reformed their own world outlook, obtained inspiration from the reality of life, the unique source of literary and artistic creation, and engaged in literary and artistic creation over the past few decades. At the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, put forth once again the above two tasks. I believe that, as a summary of the historical experience of revolutionary and artistic work, this is the only way for us to keep literature and art in line with the interests of the people and society and to boost socialist literary and artistic creation.

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COMMENT ON 'MAN IS THE STARTING POINT OF MARXISM'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 26-30

[Article by Ma Zemin [7456 3419 3046]]

[Text] Over the past few years, some comrades have put forth the viewpoint that "man is the starting point of Marxism." Why did they make such a statement? It is said that the "reasons for making this statement" are because Lin Biao and Jiang Qing spread superstitions, belittled the people, practiced barbarism, and exercised fascist dictatorship in an overall way, and because those who are bureaucratic have neglected the safety of workers. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their like are the enemy of Marxism, while those who are bureaucratic contradict Marxism. Although these two aspects have different natures, they both represent the stand against Marxism. But the comrades who have raised this question said that they did so because Stalin said in "Dialectic Materialism and Historical Materialism," published in 1938, that "man holds little position" in "our present textbooks about Marxist philosophy." Consequently they thought that it was necessary to "liberate philosophy," and the "core of this liberation" was to "restore the position of 'man' in Marxist philosophy." This view involves the basic question of Marxist philosophy and therefore it must be conscientiously discussed.

Without a doubt, Marxism studies the question of mankind. But can we eventually say that "man" is the starting point of Marxism? No. We all know that there are many sciences studying the question of man. We can even say that all social sciences involve the study of mankind; they are related to and serve them. Even natural sciences, such as biology and medical sciences have taken mankind as the target of their study. The advocacy of having "man" as the starting point of Marxism on the grounds that Marxism is also studying mankind will not only not make any sense, but also will confuse the demarcation between Marxist philosophy and bourgeois philosophy. Therefore, it is apparent that the question is not whether or not to study mankind but how to carry out the study, from what point to study and to what kind of viewpoint to take in the study.

We can see from historical developments in philosophy that the content of the starting point of philosophy is subject to constant changes. In feudal society in Western Europe, philosophy was the maid of theology and the

starting point of this philosophy is "God." The renaissance was followed by the new philosophy with a new starting point. There were two aspects on this. First, the starting point of this new philosophy was changed from God to nature. Second, this beginning was later changed from God to mankind. This change was slow and difficult and took hundreds of years to complete. At the beginning, mankind wrested a small position in philosophy from the position of God. This was followed by the emergence of various types of philosophy with mankind's conceptional knowledge, feelings, and experiences as their starting points. Later, there emerged Feuerbach's humanistic philosophy with mankind as its starting point. This philosophy represented the climax of the philosophy with mankind as the starting point. What are the reasons for the changes in the starting point of philosophy and for the emergence of the new philosophy with mankind as a starting point? To view it from the principle of historical materialism, this situation can only be explained from changes in economic foundation. Changes in the starting point of philosophy from God to nature and later to mankind have served to reflect the dying of feudal production and the raising of capitalist production. The capitalist production that has grown in feudal society demands that everything must be exchanged as commodities. Exchanges of commodities, including the trading of labor force, will be made possible only when both buyers and sellers are independent and in a position to freely handle their commodities. That is to say, commodity exchange is evident in the relations of free and equal exchange of goods among independent people. Therefore, capitalist production could not but contradict feudal serfdom, in which men were mere appendages. In order to develop a capitalist commodity economy, the bourgeoisie could not but oppose superstitions, develop science, raise labor productivity, and wrest human rights and equality from feudal nobles so as to raise their social status and turn serfs into "free" men. And to accord with such historical needs, bourgeois thinkers created new philosophical systems, with nature or mankind as their starting points to oppose the religious philosophy with God as the starting point. As for the starting point of the new philosophy, "man" reflects the concept of the relations of the exchange of commodities. Marx said: "In the contemporary era, free competition and world trade have caused the emergence of the concept of bourgeois hypocritical cosmopolitanism and man." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 169-170) Therefore, the take "man" as a starting point represents the highest theoretical summary of the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie. Such a starting point has played a progressive and revolutionary role in history and we must in no way neglect this role.

But the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie are the conditions for oppression against the proletariat. Behind the abstract concept of "man" and behind the so-called rights for all to become independent and to enjoy freedom and equality, there is hidden cruel exploitation of workers by capitalists and the true class relations between capitalists and workers. The so-called quality between people is none other than the exchange of equal value during the trading of labor force. In fact, this trading represents an exchange of unequal value because through such an exchange, the capitalists are plundering high surplus value from workers. The so-called right to freedom is in fact forcible labor and slave employment

system. So-called human rights are nothing else but the privilege of capitalists to enslave workers. It is very clear that the abstract concept of "man" in bourgeois philosophy has served to cover up and deny the exploitation of workers by capitalists.

Marxism is the theory for creating the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat and represents the basic manifestation of the interest of the proletariat. Marxism has exposed the true relations of the exploitation and enslavement of workers by capitalists that are hidden under the cloak of "man." Therefore, with Marxism, workers will be able to see their own actual status, the roots of their poverty, and the conditions for their liberation. Marx and Engels closely combined the defining of the principle of materialist interpretation of history with the criticism of Feuerbach philosophy, primarily with the criticism of his philosophy with "man" as the starting point. This criticism was included in section six of "On the Feuerbach Program" and chapter one of "German Ideology" and became the cradle of the materialist interpretation of history. Later, in recalling his basic differences with Feuerbach with regard to the starting point of philosophy, Engels said: "In essence, he is realistic because he regarded mankind as the starting point. But he did not touch upon the world where people are living. Therefore, the people he referred to have always been in the abstract, like that mentioned in religious philosophy. These people were not born by a mother, they came from the God of religion. Therefore these people do not live in the world which is true and which has emerged and been defined in history. Although these people have contact with other people, all of mankind is abstract." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 232)

Concerning the opposite view to abstract "man," who is the starting point of Feuerbach philosophy, Marx stressed time and again that the starting point of his philosophy is real man. He also time and again explained that the true man he referred to are the individuals who are carrying out production in a given society. To proceed from real man means to proceed from men's activities in social production. These two aspects refer to one thing. That is why Marx said: "The individuals are carrying out production in society--therefore, the nature of the social production of these individuals is naturally the starting point." (Ibid., Vol 2, p 86) Marx proceeded from men's production activities, analyzed the process of production, and finally formed the scientific concept of the relations of production. To use the words of Marx, he found "the certain and natural relations that have been formed by men in the process of social production and that are independent of their will. They are the production relations that accord with a certain stage of the development of men's material productive forces." (Ibid., Vol 2, p 82) Some comrades have all along regarded production and production relations as "substances." Therefore, according to this opinion, to talk about production and production relations means to get rid of and neglect mankind. This is a misunderstanding. Production refers to people's activities in producing materials, therefore production relations mean materialistic relations among people. How can we say that we are getting rid of and neglecting people? On the contrary, the people that are divorced from production and materialistic relations among people are

unrealistic and abstract. The "questions of man" primarily refer to his activities. Mankind will not survive if they fail to satisfy their needs, let alone solve other matters. The means of subsistence that are needed by people are gained from nature through labor. Man's struggle against nature represents social activities. Man's production activities are conditioned by production relations among people, and when these activities are divorced from these relations, it is impossible for isolated individuals to carry out production activities. Consequently, there will be no way to satisfy their needs. In addition, the distribution of the gross products produced by people in social production and the amount of the means of subsistence for individuals are directly determined by the nature of production relations. Therefore, it is only when we proceed from production and production relations that we will not neglect the "questions of man." And it is only under this condition that we will understand man's real situations, grasp actual man, and find a scientific solution to resolve the "question of man."

Marx investigated people by putting them into "production relations" and was the first person to scientifically solve the argument of the "nature of man" that stood as a standard for a long period in the history of philosophy. Marx said: "The nature of man is not an innate and abstract substance of individuals. In reality, it is representing the combination of all social relations." (Ibid., Vol 1, p 18) Production relations are the most basic relations of social relations. Marx said in "Das Kapital" that "the man referred to here is the personification in economic spheres and the bearer of certain class relations and interests.... No matter how an individual has subjectively departed from various relations, he is always a social product of these relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 12) In this way, Marx grasped man's actual position in society, understood his nature, fate, and future, and grasped the nature of man to thoroughly draw a clear-cut departure from the abstract "man" in the Feuerbach philosophy.

While Marx was proceeding from man's production activities and investigating society with the scientific weapon of production relations, he also pointed out: "The combination of these relations has formed a social economic structure. This structure is the realistic foundation on which exists the superstructure of law and politics and which has the corresponding social ideology. The production mode of material life contains the whole process of the whole social life, political life, and spiritual life. The existence of man is not determined by ideology; on the contrary, man's ideology is determined by his social existence." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82)

When Marx was proceeding from man's production activities and studying history with the scientific weapon of production relations, he also pointed out: "When material productive forces in society have developed to a certain stage, they will contradict the existing relations of production or the relations of assets (legal term of production relations) in their activities. Consequently, these relations will change from the form of the development of productive forces to the restraint of productive forces and by this time, the era of social revolution will come. Following the change



in economic foundation, the whole gigantic superstructure will also change slowly or quickly." (Ibid., Vol 2, pp 82-83)

These scientific discoveries by Marx have thoroughly exposed the unscientific nature of mankind in all social historical viewpoints. They have also driven idealism from the sphere of social history, which is its final shelter, to form a true and scientific materialistic interpretation of history. It can easily be seen that Marxism has taken the honest people in society or their production activities with a certain social nature as the starting point that is closely related with the theoretical system of the materialistic interpretation of history. On the contrary, if we proceed from abstract "man" or from humanity, we will consequently depart from social production relations and follow Feuerbach to take the road of idealism. If we neglect this contradiction and forcibly insert an idealistic interpretation of history into a materialistic interpretation of history, we will eventually create confusion.

The comrades who have advocated taking "man as the starting point of Marxism" said that their starting point is actual "man." They even said that my articles also mentioned the actual man referred to by Marx. Such arguing can in no way explain the question. This is because the very question is, whether the essential points of these articles have departed from concrete social relations in talking about abstract man or have put man in the relation of social production and concretely analyzed them. Whether to treat man as an isolated individual of all of mankind or to regard him as representing the combination of all social relations? Feuerbach also said that man as his starting point was actual man. But he studied people by means of divorcing them from concrete social relations and primarily from the relations of production. Therefore, he could in no way change the fact that, as he said, the man he referred to was abstract. Marx said: "Feuerbach never saw the true and actual man; he just relied on abstract 'man.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 50) How did the comrades who advocated to "take man as the starting point of Marxism" talk about "man"?

They said that in the past, our philosophy books "mentioned very little" and even "neglected" the "questions of the value, dissimulation, and liberation of man." In order to "overcome" these "shortcomings," they consequently put forth the view that "man is the starting point of Marxism." It can easily be seen, through simple analysis, that the man these comrades are talking about is the abstract "man." And the so-called "value, dissimulation, and liberation of man" are representing abstractness that is divorced from concrete social relations. The "man" they mentioned is applicable to all eras, all classes, and all nations. In addition, they have also talked in abstract terms about the dignity, rights, freedom, needs, and happiness of "man." All these showed that the "man" as their starting point in Marxism is abstract. Therefore, their so-called "liberation of philosophy" means to primarily change the "actual man" who is the starting point of the philosophy and who is reflecting the true social relations among people to abstract "man" so as to cover up the true social relations among people. We must say that this advocacy represents not



liberation but retrogression. That is to say, this view wants to drag the starting point of Marxist philosophy onto the stand of Feuerbach and regress to the starting point of bourgeois philosophy.

It is not a Marxist materialistic interpretation of history to explain social history through the nature, dissimulation, and restoration of humanity. Such an explanation existed long before Marx. It existed in utopian socialism and was used by Hegel in his youth, by Feuerbach, and by "true" socialists. Therefore, it can be seen that the so-called "liberation of philosophy" is in fact aimed at redressing what has been criticized by Marx. This situation proved the truth, from a negative view, that the starting point which departs from mankind's production activities and production relations and which is characterized by abstract man and humanity will eventually go toward historical idealism.

The view of discussing "man" in abstract terms and in general may be of some significance in distinguishing man from animals. But to use it in the social sphere will only cover up the true relations among people, a situation which is particularly harmful.

First, anybody can take advantage of this view. In our society, there still are people who are reactionary elements and criminals. Therefore, if we talk in abstract terms about rights, freedom, and needs of people, those reactionary elements and criminals will say that what they have done was to exercise their personal rights, freedom, and needs. Then what can we do? To talk in abstract terms about "man" will only confuse right and wrong. This point must first draw our attention.

Second, freedom, rights and needs can be met only through materialistic means; therefore, they should have the premise of materials. Whether freedom, rights and needs can be realized and whether they are rational are determined by objective material conditions. If we disregard objective conditions, merely proceed from the point of man and talk in abstract terms about their needs, we will eventually depart from rational standards and spheres that are allowed by objective conditions, as well as cause disorder in society.

Third, all of us are living collectively. Therefore, we must handle well the relations between individuals and the collective. To talk in abstract terms about the freedom, rights and needs of men will create an opportunity for some persons to put individual interests first and make it the only position under the name of "man." This situation will result in ultra-individualism and anarchism.

Marxist philosophy has always opposed proceeding from abstract man, because in this way, it is impossible to correctly handle the relations among people. Marxist philosophy advocates analyzing all social questions primarily from the point of mankind's production activities and production relations or economic relations. In this way, we will be able to understand what kind of human rights that are to define the relations between individual interests and collective interests, to understand what kind of rights

are rational and acceptable by objective conditions, and what are irrational and unacceptable by objective conditions. In this way, we will be able to find the correct way to bring about the rights. All these represent basic Marxist principle. Marx said in criticizing Wagena [3907 2706 4780] who mistakenly took abstract man as the starting point: "Our stupid gentlemen have even failed to see our analytical method of proceeding from a certain social economic period and people." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 415)

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## OPPOSE SEEKING GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL AND SUNDRY AT THE EXPENSE OF PRINCIPLE

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[Article by Chen Jinyu [7115 6651 3768]]

[Text] The tasks of this period of party rectification are to unify thought, consolidate work style, strengthen discipline, and purify organization. An important condition for completing these tasks is that all party members consciously and accurately seize the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. At present, there exists among some comrades in the party a certain tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle. This is seriously hindering the development of criticism and self-criticism within the party. Hence, in order to ensure that people do not merely go through the motions of party rectification, we must firmly oppose and overcome this tendency.

### The Signs and Dangers of Seeking Good Relations With All and Sundry at the Expense of Principle

Today many comrades lack sufficient understanding and appreciation of the danger of seeking good relations at the expense of principle and they believe that there is nothing extraordinary about doing this to a small extent. Some comrades even compare it to making "smelly bean curd" in that it may not smell nice, but it tastes delicious. Is this practice of seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle really such a good thing? No. It poses an enormous danger to the healthy cells of the party.

1. Giving up principles. Party principles are the lifeblood of the party. Every party member should preserve and respect party principles as he or she would his or her own eyes, staunchly carrying out a struggle against all principles which oppose the party and all incorrect actions or words which are in contradiction to the party line, policies, or principles. Those who seek good relations with others at the expense of principle give up party principles so as to ingratiate themselves with those in superior positions, with their colleagues, with those below them, or with the masses. They are afraid of offending their superiors and being dismissed, afraid of offending their colleagues and creating bad relations, and afraid of offending the

masses and losing their votes; this clearly is in opposition to the principles of the party and a manifestation of a fear of being firm, a fear of handling situations, and a fear of management. When leading cadres become infected with this tendency, it can lead to political "osteomalacia." Why is it that in some work units today there is no timely and effective resistance to and criticism of incorrect utterances and propositions which contravene the four basic principles and the party line, principles, and policies drawn up since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and that there is no halt to or correction of the creation and propagation of spiritual pollution, and why in these work units is there no exposure and serious handling of the people of three categories who threaten the party, why are there no firm attacks on smuggling, embezzlement, speculation, and deceit in these units, why is it that the "black sheep" and "instigators" of factionalism and anarchy do not receive the punishments they deserve? The key to the answer lies in the political infirmity and softness of the leaders in those places. Softness is an important factor, and this is a manifestation of the trouble caused by seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle. If this tendency is not eradicated, then there is no way of curing these leaders' "political osteomalacia" and thus they will continue to hinder the thorough implementation of the party's line, policies, and principles.

2. Encouraging bad trends. Taking advantage of one's work position and powers for private gain represents a threat to the credibility of the party and the party cause, and seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle encourages the growth and pervasion of these bad trends. When handling such matters as housing allocation for workers, wage adjustments, employment for sons and daughters and close relatives, moving up grades in school, become a cadre, moving rural households to urban areas, and so on, and when dealing with unfair demands from some people, one should normally handle the situation with impartiality. However, because these requests come from "old colleagues," "old superiors," "close friends," and so on, those handling the matters outlined above act as "good old friends" and arrange things that they should not arrange and take care of people and matters that should not concern them. The masses feel strongly about this use of prerogatives, and they either turn a deaf ear to it, are indifferent to it, make concessions to avoid trouble, or turn big problems into small ones and small ones into nothing at all. Those who seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle are afraid of handling difficult or unpleasant tasks, and they provide no encouragement or support for good people or good actions; they simply allow evil trends to develop, thereby allowing those who pester the party for status, positions, or special treatment to actually gain a foothold, so that their appetite gets bigger and bigger. If we do not firmly eradicate the seeking of good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle, then it will be impossible to stifle all the evil trends within the party and difficult to achieve the fundamental turn for the better in party work style. It should also be pointed out that bad people often profit from those who are susceptible to seeking good relations with all and sundry; the bad people use them as protectors and umbrellas as they carry out their bad deeds. Bad people can never completely conceal and disguise themselves or their acts; they always

leave some small trace. Why is it that some party members and cadres ignore their unusual behavior or words and adopt the incorrect attitude of not reporting them and feeling that "one more case is not as good as one less case"? It is often this tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle that causes these comrades to drop the alertness they should have.

3. Hindering unity. Those who have this tendency mistakenly believe that getting rid of criticism and mutually protecting others will give rise to unity within the party. They hardly realize that this is an idle fantasy not in keeping with reality. The development of mutual criticism within the party, face-to-face criticism and encouragement among comrades, encouraging people to say all they know and say it without reservations allows those who have been criticized to publicly explain criticism which does not tally with the facts. This kind of frank and sincere criticism is an effective means of creating mutual trust, strengthening understanding, and increasing unity. Those who seek good relations with all and sundry do not admit the shortcomings and errors of others to their face; thus, the problems never really get solved. If people are talked about behind their backs, it almost always gets back to them and this has the effect of disturbing otherwise good relations between comrades and creating unnecessary mutual doubt, censure, and caution which, in turn, destroys party unity and results in dissension and discord between party members, between party members and cadres, and between party members and cadres and the masses, and this weakens the fighting spirit of the party organization.

4. Adverse effects on work. What is work? Work means solving contradictions. In their work, those who seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle often adopt an attitude of "keeping their mouths shut and avoiding problems." They simply want to follow the crowd when it comes to handling directives, opinions, and orders from above which they know are wrong, and thus they express agreement and praise against their will. As for demands and requests which come from below or from the masses which they know are not rational or fair or which are incorrect, they do not dare to severely criticize and they either perfunctorily say a few words or they yield. As for those who are easily "offended," they simply go with the punches and are as accommodating as possible. Like bureaucracy, which illustrates irresponsibility toward the party and the people, this problem of seeking good relations poses an even greater threat when it appears among leading cadres.

5. The effect on advancement. People say that seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle damages the party and the collective and that the only one to benefit is the individual. What this means is that no matter how bad this tendency actually is, it can only benefit and not harm the one infected with this bad ideology. But this is not true to the facts. Those who practice seeking good relations at the expense of principle harm others, but they also harm themselves. Seeking good relations with others at the expense of principle is a manifestation of the impurity of the party and represents an obstacle to the progress of all party members. It also causes people to lose the revolutionary urge and



revolutionary sense of responsibility that Communist Party members should have and causes them to give up principles. It encourages bad trends, hinders unity, and affects work. The four modernizations construction program represents an exciting new life, and our party and the masses require good party members and good cadres with emancipated thinking, a firm position, courage of responsibility, and the courage to open up a new phase. If all those party members and cadres who are infected with this tendency to seek good relations at the expense of principle do not get themselves cured as quickly as possible, then they will fall even further as things develop; indeed, they may even be eliminated by the high tide of the new life of the four modernizations construction.

#### The Root Cause of Seeking Good Relations at the Expense of Principle

The growth of this tendency among some comrades in the party is the result of socio-historical reasons. The ideological rule of feudalism in old China existed for several thousand years and the "doctrine of the mean" and such attitudes as "sweep the snow from in front of your own houses, do not concern yourself with the frost on other people's tiles," have permeated into almost every aspect of social life. This kind of old and backward ideology unavoidably finds various channels to influence and seep in among the pioneers of the proletariat. In our party it can be said that this tendency to seek good relations at the expense of principle has a very long history. In 1937, in an article entitled "Oppose Liberalization," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out very accurately that liberalization eliminates ideological struggle and proposes unprincipled peace and that the result of this is the emergence of corrupt and vulgar work styles, and this leads to political corruption of some organizations and individuals in the party and in revolutionary groups. Of the 11 manifestations of liberalization that he listed in politics, organization, and ideology, a large percentage fell into the category of seeking good relations at the expense of principle. The poison created in the people's thoughts by the 10 years of social chaos ran deep and these negative influences continue to exist today. They should not on any account be ignored. In addition to the above-mentioned reasons, we should also warily recognize that in recent years the growth of seeking good relations at the expense of principle among some comrades in the party is the result of one-sided ideological understanding, a lack of understanding of the dialectical relationship between internal party criticism and internal party unity, and a lack of understanding of the importance and necessity of internal party criticism. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has restored order out of chaos and corrected past errors such as "taking class struggle as the key link," and has corrected past erroneous handling and treatment of various individuals as a result of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" inside the party; all of this is correct and necessary. This restoration of order out of chaos has been reflected in the minds of some comrades and has produced a misunderstanding, such as that within specific spheres of society, the class struggle no longer exists, and even that there no longer exists any contradiction or struggle between right and wrong and between advanced and backward, and that to be a good party member or a good cadre, one simply has to bury one's head in one's work and just work hard and that one should not

concern oneself with "knotty problems." Thus, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism has either consciously or unconsciously been abandoned or used less.

Selfish individualism and corruptive and vulgar "study of relations" has permeated the party cells. Over recent years the party has been implementing an open door policy and a policy to enliven the domestic economy, and these policies are entirely correct. However, under these new historical conditions, the influence and corrosion of corrupt capitalist ideologies and remnants of feudalism have increased and our struggle in this area is still not enough. Some party members and party cadres display a growth of individualism. This is concretely manifested in the way the relations of mutual help between comrades within revolutionary groups have become relations of mutual gain to attain individual ends. In addition, relations between comrades within the party, relations between upper and lower levels, and relations between the party and the masses have become relations of commodity exchange. Seeking good relations at the expense of principle is one form of individualism and it also encourages the growth of individualism. Those who seek good relations at the expense of principle always think of whether something is convenient for others or for themselves; they set things up so that if someone does not criticize them, they will not criticize back. They also think that pandering to the leaders, lower levels, and the masses will win them the confidence of the leaders, the loyalty and obedience of those below them, and the praise of the masses, and thus they store capital for their own promotion. Thus, some people who seek good relations at the expense of principle take advantage of the weaknesses of some leading cadres when they are promoting party members and cadres. This has created an abnormal social mentality such that those who uphold principles end up suffering while those who are benign and uncontentious and indifferent to principles take advantages; this has imperceptibly increased the market for the tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle.

Some party members lack training in internal party political life and they confuse criticism and "dealing with someone." Today, quite a lot of party members are quite unused to using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to promote unity in the party and develop work. They mistakenly believe that severe criticism of another comrade means "dealing with them" or "fixing them" and, hence, there exists a certain dread of normal and severe criticism within the party. Some older party members have rather badly absorbed the lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and have lost confidence in the basic turn for the better in party work style; as a consequence, they do not dare to take the lead in launching criticism.

Democratic life within the party is not yet perfected and there is no systematization and regularization of criticism. At present, the organizational life of many party organizations is not perfect, party members have drawbacks, and mistakes do not get timely criticism and help; as a result, problems build up, making the organization and development of criticism and self-criticism even more difficult. In the case of some party members and leading cadres, a democratic work style is particularly lacking and they

refuse to listen to varying opinions and even go so far as to wantonly suppress such opinions, attacking and making reprisals against those good party members and good cadres who stand by their principles and dare to raise different opinions. These leaders who suppress criticism and attack and carry out reprisals are also rather questionable in monetary matters and have links with all sorts of abnormal goings-on. Thus, an incorrect party work style can encourage tendencies toward seeking good relations at the expense of principle, while the latter can also encourage a bad party work style.

Some party members and cadres lack training in the theories of Marxism. Those who seek good relations at the expense of principle consciously or unconsciously take on the command of idealism and metaphysical world views when they consider problems and handle situations. They always wrongly believe that objectively existing contradictions can be avoided or covered up and that as long as one does not expose such a contradiction and intensify it, then it will naturally disappear. What they do not understand is that in the final analysis, contradictions are unavoidable and that under certain conditions exposing a contradiction is not bad; rather, it will help solve the contradiction and is an important factor in achieving a positive turnaround in the contradiction.

#### Ways of Overcoming the Tendency To Seek Good Relations at the Expense of Principle

This tendency is a chronic and stubborn disease and requires the adoption of a series of effective measures in various areas, including ideology, work style, and organization, as well as correction.

Increase and strengthen ideological education. The root of this disease is selfishness and shortsightedness and the placing of individual interests at the forefront and placing the party's interests in second place. Hence, we should educate those who do such things as seeking good relations at the expense of principle, teaching them the standards of party members and guiding them to consciously overcome this tendency and to establish communist ideals and outlook on life. With lofty revolutionary ideals and firm political convictions and full confidence in the great cause of socialist modernized construction which the party is leading, and with a strong sense of responsibility, they will be able to liberate themselves from the tendency to worry about personal gains and losses and thus more firmly implement the party's line, policies, and principles and consciously overcome the tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle.

Correctly develop criticism and self-criticism within the party. As far as criticism and self-criticism in the party is concerned, we have amassed a great deal of experience and have developed many important principles and methods. On the basis of these principles, we must draw up some detailed rules and regulations. For example, one of the most important principles which must be respected within the party is the basic desire for unity and, on that basis, aiming to help the person involved in criticism, learning

from past mistakes and thereby avoiding future ones, and curing the sickness to heal the patient. In order to implement this principle, we should concretely examine the entire process from before, during, and after criticism, taking note of things that the criticizer and the criticized should beware of and be conscious of. In the case of the criticizer, in order to embody the desire for unity, he or she should consider before initiating a criticism whether or not he or she needs to have a heart-to-heart talk with the criticized beforehand so that when the criticized person comes in for severe and sharp criticism, they are mentally prepared. During the process of criticism, the criticizer should consider what measures to take and attitude to have in order to honor and preserve the criticized person's character and self-respect and thus make it easier to accept the criticism. As far as criticism of incorrect analysis is concerned, the criticizer should know how to achieve a factual basis, how to present a convincing argument and not simply make groundless accusations or nitpick and not exaggerate the criticism. After the criticism, if the criticized is not convinced or is confused and in an anxious state, the criticizer should be aware of how he or she should approach the criticized person and ensure that they sense the comradely warmth and organizational concern which exist, and in this way get them to quickly realize their situation and deeply appreciate their shortcomings or faults and not simply feel prejudiced against. After they have made a little bit of progress, one should know how to give them enthusiastic encouragement and so on. All these things must be noted well. Correct development of criticism and self-criticism also requires paying attention to not confusing criticism of artistic and literary methods with the tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle and not confusing this tendency with that valuable quality of upholding one's principles, concerning oneself with the whole, and enduring humiliation to carry out a task. Only by accurately understanding the problem of how to achieve correct and scientific development of criticism and self-criticism can more and more comrades actively take up this weapon.

Leading cadres should take the lead in carrying out good criticism and self-criticism and severely attack vengefulness. During this period of party rectification, every leading cadre should participate in party rectification as an ordinary party member, strictly examining themselves and courageously carrying out an intense, fact-finding, and sincere self-criticism of their shortcomings and errors and adopting the same posture of criticism toward the faults of other cadres. Only in this way can the mass of party members be encouraged to take part in party rectification, and this is also an effective way of overcoming the tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle within the party. As far as the question of lower levels criticizing their superiors and the masses criticizing the leaders is concerned, one question which requires further study in order to be resolved is how to guarantee that the criticizer may exercise his or her democratic right and not suffer vengeful attacks from bureaucrats or various bad kinds of people. Using criticism as an excuse for carrying out malicious damage or suppressing criticism and wreaking vengeance all represent activities in violation of party discipline and the laws of the country. We must make great efforts to develop democracy within the party so that effective guarantees are provided for the legal rights of



criticizers and so that the market for seeking to make good relations at the expense of principle will decrease.

We should not let those who seek good relations at the expense of principle take advantage of such situations as party member and cadre promotion, bonuses, and utilization. The new party constitution states that it is the task of every party member to fully develop criticism and self-criticism, to boldly expose and correct shortcomings and errors in work, and to give support to good people and good causes while opposing bad people and bad causes. At present, some leaders often praise and reward anyone who does not give offense, incorrectly believing that their relations with the masses are good and that they are able to unify people, turning their shortcomings into good points, and even giving them important jobs and positions. This is very dangerous. Regarding those party comrades whose tendencies toward seeking good relations at the expense of principle are very severe, they should not be promoted or given important posts before they mend their ways. By promoting or giving these people important posts, we are attacking those good party members and good cadres who uphold principles and who are not afraid to get to grips with things and to manage affairs.

The tendency to seek good relations at the expense of principle is a sign of immature ideology and work style inside the party. Overcoming this tendency and grasping the weapon of criticism and self-criticism are important conditions for completing the task of party rectification. At the same time, they are also two of the aims which party rectification seeks to achieve.

At the same time as opposing the tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle, we must also take care to prevent and overcome such errors as excessive criticism. In the history of our party, excessive criticism and "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" seriously injured a large number of comrades and good cadres, and this caused serious damage to the party's cause. We must never forget this lesson.

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## RENEWAL AND TRANSFORMATION OF FIXED ASSETS AND ECONOMIC REJUVENATION

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[Article by Ren Weizhong [0117 4850 1813]]

[Text] It was put forth at the 12th CPC Congress that our country will enter a new period of economic vitalization in the 1990's. Economic vitalization depends on, first, more vigorously building key projects in the sectors of energy resources, communications, and so on; second, achieving scientific and technological advances, vigorously promoting the renewal and transformation of existing enterprises, and improving the enterprises' quality. This article stresses the study of the significance of renewing and transforming fixed assets and the question of how to strengthen renewal and transformation work.

In our country, the renewal and transformation of the existing enterprises' fixed assets is an extremely urgent and very important task. Why do we say this?

First, a large-scale renewal and transformation of fixed assets will help rejuvenate the several hundred thousand enterprises in our country. Marx said: "The means of production continually undergo innovation largely because of industrial progress. Therefore, they are replaced not in their original forms, but in innovated forms." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 190-191) The capitalists aim at making profits. Competition and economic crises force them to adopt new technology in renewal. Socialist production aims to satisfy the people's needs. Thus, we can consciously take advantage of the renewal of fixed assets to carry out technological transformation in the enterprises and improve the enterprises' quality. Because any machine or equipment has a definite life and because, in the past, we neglected the renewal and transformation of fixed assets, therefore, the majority of the machinery and equipment in our country's industrial enterprises have become very old. All machinery and equipment, including those left over by the old society and those of the 1950's or 1960's, must now be gradually renewed. Because the current period is one of rapid scientific and technological development, the overall depreciation of fixed assets, with obsolescence taken into account, has quickened, and many categories of equipment need to be replaced earlier than planned. When the equipment of the 1950's and 1960's has been renewed, the equipment of

the 1970's will also need to be renewed. This large-scale renewal will bring about many difficulties for us, but this is a good opportunity for introducing new technology and equipment. In our country, there are over 400,000 industrial enterprises; their fixed assets are valued at over 500 billion yuan. The effects of carrying out renewal and transformation on such a large scale will be tremendous. These old enterprises will very soon play a greater role once the fresh blood of modern science and technology is injected into them. At the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Zhao Ziyang said: "Those categories of advanced technology which have been widely used by economically developed countries in the 1970's or early 1980's and which are suitable for our country must be gradually introduced on a relatively wide scale to serve various sectors of our national economy." He also highly appraised Comrade Sun Yefang's proposals that we must not continue to manufacture obsolete equipment and must not freeze technological progress, but must raise the depreciation rate, shorten the period allowed for depreciation, and fully utilize the existing enterprises. This reflects a very great change in our country's technological policy; this is an important strategic measure for quickening our country's technological progress. The implementation of this measure will enable our enterprises in the fields of industry, communications, and transport, particularly a large number of key enterprises, to rank among the modern enterprises in the world and make greater contributions to the building of socialism by means of advanced technology.

Second, a large-scale renewal and transformation of the enterprises' fixed assets can promote the construction of key projects and overall national economic development. Historical experience tells us that a large-scale renewal and transformation of fixed assets is the starting point and motive force of economic vitalization. In capitalist society, economic crises force the capitalists to renew fixed capital on a large scale and to scramble to use new equipment, technology, and raw materials. The large-scale renewal and transformation of fixed capital, in turn, promotes the development of the capitalist economy from depression to recovery and prosperity. The large-scale renewal of fixed capital also played an important role in the process whereby backward capitalist countries caught up with or surpassed advanced ones. Thus, although capitalism first developed in Britain and France, these countries, however, dropped behind late in the 18th century [as published] because old equipment became a serious obstacle to them; they overly depended on obsolete though usable machinery, equipment, and methods, unwilling to incur huge expenses to modernize the enterprises. The United States and Germany had a smaller obstacle of this kind. They vigorously adopted new technology and equipment to develop their economies. Consequently, in 20 or 30 years' time, they caught up with or even surpassed Britain and France. After World War II, within 20 years or so, Japan became the second strongest economic power in the world by relying on science and technology. In the 1950's, when its economy had just recovered after the war, Japan adopted the quick depreciation system to quicken the renewal of fixed capital.

Our economy differs essentially from the economies of capitalist countries. However, a similarity exists: A large-scale renewal and transformation of

fixed assets can promote economic vitalization. In the first place, the renewal and transformation of fixed assets can give impetus to the development of heavy industry and help open up a wide field where heavy industry can render service. Suppose that in the coming decade, 30 billion yuan of capital funds are expended annually for renewal and transformation, of which 60 to 70 percent is used to purchase machinery and equipment; then, the additional orders received annually by the machine-building industry will amount to 18 to 21 billion yuan. The development of the machine-building industry can give impetus to the development of such industries as iron and steel, electrical goods, instruments and meters, electric power, and so on. Moreover, the development of heavy industries like the machine-building industry can help equip the entire national economy, including the agricultural and light industrial sectors, with better and more modern machinery and equipment.

The renewal and transformation of fixed assets can also promote the construction of key projects in the sectors of energy resources, communications, and so on. The construction of key projects is a major mainstay of economic vitalization, but the human, material, and financial resources needed by it must be provided by the existing enterprises. If the existing enterprises are satisfactorily renewed and transformed, then key construction projects will benefit from a greater supply of trained qualified personnel, accumulation funds, building materials, and advanced machinery and equipment, which will together strongly support the building of key projects.

Third, a large-scale renewal and transformation of fixed assets depends on scientific and technological progress. Conversely, however, the former can promote the development of scientific, cultural, and educational undertakings and open up a wide path for the application of science and technology. Scientific and technological development is closely related to society's need for it. In a letter to a friend, Engels said: "If, as asserted by you, technology depends to a great extent on the condition of science, then the condition of science depends to an even greater extent on the /condition/ [in boldface] and /needs/ [in boldface] of technology. Once a technological need arises in society, then this need will promote scientific advance more powerfully than 10 universities." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 505) Over the past 30 years, we assigned large numbers of qualified scientific and technological personnel to the factories. However, why has their technological standard improved relatively slowly? Why has the obsolescence of their technological knowledge been so serious? Why is it that over many years, many of our fruits of scientific research have stayed in the laboratories and exhibition halls instead of being applied in production? Why is it so difficult to popularize the advanced technology that we imported from abroad at high costs? A major reason is that over many years, we have neglected the technological transformation of old enterprises. Our oceans of old enterprises use old equipment and they have produced the same old products for several decades. Therefore, new fruits of scientific and technological research cannot be applied on a considerable scale and the role of scientific and technological personnel cannot be fully brought into play. If our fixed assets are renewed and transformed on a new



scientific and technological basis, then the millions of scientific and technological personnel can apply their knowledge and the numerous fruits of scientific and technological research can be more quickly converted into directly usable productive forces.

Fourth, an even more important fact is that the renewal and transformation of fixed assets on the basis of modern science and technology can help shift our national economy onto the track of taking the improvement of economic results as the central task, so that there is a reliable material and technological base to guarantee success in quadrupling total annual industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century. According to estimates, in 20 years output value can be merely doubled if our technology remains at the original level, and it can be quadrupled only if we rely more on improving economic results. In 20 years, the production of energy resources can be merely doubled, and if our output is to be quadrupled, we must vigorously economize energy consumption. Economic results can never be improved if we remain at the existing technological level, relying on old technology, old equipment, old materials and raw materials, and old management methods. The basic way out is to carry out technological transformation in old enterprises to improve their economic results while we build key projects in the sectors of energy resources, communications, transportation, and so on.

The strategic goal of quadrupling our output is to be achieved in two steps: Laying a foundation during the first decade and achieving economic vitalization during the second. The work of laying a foundation includes the important content of renewing and transforming the existing enterprises. The first 3 years of the first decade have elapsed, and we must have a sense of urgency regarding the question of renewal and transformation. Only if this work is done well can there be hope for the economic vitalization of the second decade.

Actually, renewing and transforming fixed assets should be the enterprises' regular work. However, we have neglected this issue over many years in the past. Under the guidance of the ideology of one-sidedly stressing capital construction at the expense of renewal and transformation, the greater part of the depreciation funds, which were already inadequate, were used for new capital construction, bringing serious harmful effects to the national economy, the principal ones being as follows:

1. The existing enterprises' equipment is old, their technology remains backward, and their products are obsolete. According to estimates, the age distribution of the fixed assets in our country's industrial and communications enterprises is: 42 percent are over 15 years old; 33 percent are over 20 years old; 14 percent are over 25 years old; and 7 percent were installed before the founding of the PRC. Because the equipment is old, technology remains backward and products are obsolete. The proportion of those products of our country's machine-building industry which really attain the standards attained by other countries in the 1970's and early 1980's is only 10 percent, while the corresponding figure for the electronics industry is only 15 percent. Over many years, the old power plants and old means of transportation, which people call coal tigers and electric tigers, have continued

to exist, without any new generations of equipment appearing. With our old equipment and backward products, the domestic needs of construction cannot be fulfilled and products lack competitive ability abroad. In other countries, the equipment of those industrial enterprises built in the 1950's has been renewed many times, and their products are now of the second, third, or even fourth generation. However, many of our industrial enterprises built in that decade have remained virtually unchanged for over 20 years or more.

2. Our national economy has changed into one marked by high consumption of productive resources with poor economic results. From 1952 to 1982, the total value of our country's industrial and agricultural output increased by 930 percent, our national income grew by 479 percent, and the average consumption level of all residents in our country increased by 133.5 percent. This fact fully demonstrates that among our country's productive sectors, the consumption of material resources is high, labor productivity is low, and economic results are unsatisfactory. Our country has roughly the same number of machine-building enterprises as the United States, that is, around 100,000; the number of employees in our country's machine-building industry is 50 percent more than the number of their American counterparts; but the output of our machine-building industry is only one-tenth of that of its American counterpart. The main reason is that the technological aspect of our country's machine-building industry is poor and our machinery and equipment are backward.

3. Because the cycle of renewal and transformation of fixed assets is too long and numerous items of equipment are being used beyond their proper lives, we have been forced to build and maintain a large contingent of repair personnel. Marx said: "The further a machine operates beyond its middle age, the greater the normal wear and tear that results from such operation, and the faster the consumption and aging of the materials comprising the machine, the greater will be the frequency of the repairs needed to maintain it until the end of its average life. It is just as an old man must incur greater medical expenses than a young man to guard against dying before the right time." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, p 195) A large contingent of repair personnel is an important reflection of the facts that enterprises have old equipment, equipment is repaired but not replaced, and technology is backward. For example, in Beijing, 28.4 percent of all lathes in the municipality are used to maintain and repair equipment, with a utilization ratio of 20 to 30 percent. By inference, how numerous those lathes and workers in our country are that are tied down, because of the slow renewal of fixed assets, to the repair workshops or workshop sections of those factories with a very low degree of specialization and very low efficiency! This situation can be changed only if we pay attention to scientific and technological progress and strengthen the work of renewing and transforming fixed assets.

At present, to strengthen the renewal and transformation of fixed assets, we must very satisfactorily solve two problems: the management of funds for renewal and transformation and the source of funds for renewing and transforming equipment.

Undoubtedly, depreciation rates should be gradually raised if we want to have sufficient funds for renewing and transforming fixed assets. However, our top priority task is to resolutely adopt measures to pool existing depreciation funds and other renewal and transformation funds and use them for renewing and transforming fixed assets. Considering the Sixth 5-Year Plan, while leaving aside things of the distant past, we see that the substantial sum of 130 billion yuan has been earmarked in the plan for investment in renewal and transformation. No matter who handles it, this sum of money can cause a great change in regard to our country's enterprises if it is solely used for renewing and transforming the existing enterprises. However, during the first 2 years, the greater part of the planned renewal and transformation funds were diverted to new capital construction or other uses under various pretexts and through various means. To change this situation, we must in theory draw a clear line of distinction between compensation funds and accumulation funds, and in practical work, we must strengthen the management of renewal and transformation funds.

In the past, the majority of our country's depreciation funds were used for capital construction; this is related to the confusion of the distinction between compensation funds and accumulation funds. Some people hold that depreciation funds have the dual nature of serving as both compensation funds and accumulation funds. This view is untenable.

First, because the withdrawal of depreciation funds is not synchronous with the renewal of fixed assets, some depreciation funds can be used as accumulation funds for purchasing new machinery and equipment before the renewal of the existing equipment. However, such funds are not genuine accumulation funds. Accumulation funds amount to an addition to the existing funds, but the temporary use of depreciation funds as accumulation funds does not mean an increase in the existing funds. We can purchase a larger quantity of machinery when we temporarily use part of our depreciation funds as accumulation funds. However, this only demonstrates that the existing funds can result in a larger quantity of machinery and equipment; this does not mean an increase in funds.

Second, the use of depreciation funds as accumulation funds does not mean that they are converted into genuine accumulation funds. This amounts to temporarily borrowing depreciation funds for use in another way over a period of time; and when the existing fixed assets need to be renewed, the funds must be returned and reverted to their genuine use as compensation funds for purchasing new fixed assets once again. If these funds are not returned, the renewal of fixed assets will be hindered. Thanks to technological progress, when all depreciation funds, withdrawn according to their original amounts, are used as compensation funds, not only will there be simple reproduction with a restoration of the original productive capacity, but an expanded reproduction is also possible. However, in terms of value, capital value is only compensated for but not increased, though the same amount of funds can now result in a greater production capacity.

Third, because the depreciation funds for new enterprises generally exceed the funds needed for renewal, a sum of depreciation funds can be used every

year as accumulation funds under the condition that fixed assets increase year after year. However, there is a limit to this use of depreciation funds. If an enterprise goes beyond this limit, the enterprise's capital funds will be exhausted, and this will amount to incurring debts. In the past, under various pretexts, we used the greater part of depreciation funds for capital construction and for building new enterprises. It seemed that accumulation funds had increased. Actually, this was like removing bricks from one wall to mend another. Although new enterprises have been built, some existing enterprises become obsolete and backward. If the depreciation funds are not returned, the old enterprises will lack renewal and transformation funds; if they are to be returned, the financial authorities can hardly afford returning them. In the past, we did not renew our fixed assets as we should have done; now, the kind of renewal we need to carry out is not renewal in its original form, but renewal that embodies technological progress and technological transformation. We must spend more money to purchase advanced new equipment than to purchase old types of equipment. Therefore, we should not use depreciation funds as accumulation funds. Moreover, when financial resources permit, we should even use part of our accumulation funds for renewing and transforming the existing enterprises.

There also exists a view that both depreciation funds and profits are sources of fiscal revenue, and so which category is quantitatively larger is of no practical significance. This view is also incorrect. In "Another Discourse on the Theory of Realization," Lenin said that "that part of the social product" used as "compensation for constant capital" "has never been, and cannot be, in the form of income." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 63) Depreciation funds arise from the transferred value of those fixed assets consumed in production, but fiscal revenue arises from national income; there is a clear-cut distinction between the two things. Even if our fiscal revenue includes part of the depreciation funds, the latter actually does not belong to the national income. By clearly understanding the distinction between depreciation funds and profits, we can avoid treating our capital value as income and diverting compensation funds to new capital construction or other uses.

The relationship between depreciation funds and accumulation funds is basically one between production and capital construction. In 1957, Comrade Chen Yun put forth the idea that the scale of capital construction must be compatible with our national resources, and materials and raw materials must be allocated according to the principle of assigning priority to production over capital construction. Simple reproduction is forever the basis and starting point of expanded reproduction, and the existing enterprises always constitute the base from which we proceed to carry out economic construction and also the basic source of our national financial and material resources. In general, when the state makes plans for investment in fixed assets, the needs of renewing and transforming the existing enterprises should be satisfied first, and then the remaining resources will determine the scale of capital construction. Not only must depreciation funds for simple reproduction be used for the benefit of the existing enterprises, but even the accumulation funds for expanded reproduction must



be subjected to an analysis of technological merit and comparative economic benefit. Accumulation funds should be invested in existing enterprises if such an investment can result in a more advanced technological level and greater economic rationality, while capital construction is undertaken only if it is absolutely necessary. In this way, although economic development will appear to be slower, it will actually be faster, because expanded reproduction by intensive development is more economical than by extension. If the existing enterprises are improved, larger quantities of funds and material resources will be available for building new enterprises.

Let us now discuss the question of managing depreciation funds. Because the withdrawal of depreciation funds is not synchronous with the renewal of fixed assets, there is a question of how to allocate depreciation funds and by whom these funds should be allocated. Various schemes can be put forth to answer this question. At present, enormous quantities of fixed assets have not been renewed as they should have been, while those economic responsibility systems and economic management systems that are adopted by the enterprises are far from perfect. Under this condition, to effectively use the depreciation funds, we can adopt the method of appropriate centralization. However, judging from the trend of development of our economic system's reform, it is better to leave all or a greater part of the funds to the enterprises or to those companies which are run like enterprises. Enterprises under ownership by the whole people are relatively independent economic entities which are permanently empowered to own and use the fixed assets assigned to them by the state. These enterprises should manage depreciation funds on their own because these funds amount to a transferred value of the original fixed assets and belong to the enterprises' capital value. Moreover, the enterprises are dutybound to carry out renewal and transformation and they have the most thorough understanding of, and the greatest concern for, the machinery and equipment they are always using. If the enterprises are to shoulder this responsibility, they must have the corresponding financial powers. If we say that the enterprises must be assigned greater financial powers with the extension of their decisionmaking powers, then the power to use depreciation funds on their own should be one of the most basic financial powers. If the enterprises should retain part of their profits in order to gain greater vitality, then it is even less necessary to take away from them the depreciation funds, which belong to their capital value. If all depreciation funds are retained by the enterprises, how can we ensure that these funds are used solely for renewing and transforming fixed assets? This is a question we should earnestly consider. To ensure this: 1) We must strengthen the planned management of depreciation funds and strengthen regulation and supervision by banks so that funds earmarked for specific purposes are really used for such purposes. Practice has proved that it is not a good method to combine renewal and transformation funds, major repairs funds, and capital construction funds into a single category. Such combination will cause the greater part of renewal and transformation funds to be diverted to capital construction. 2) We must improve the system of indicators for assessing the enterprises' work. Instead of assessing the enterprises by their output and total output value, we must change over to assessing them mainly by product quality, product variety, and economic results so that the enterprises can be relieved of the pressure

for simplistically going after output value and speed, and the situation of stressing new capital construction at the expense of renewal and transformation can be ended. 3) We must resolutely implement the policy of setting higher prices for higher quality products and support the enterprises' improvement of technology and development of new products by helping them in the areas of credits, taxation, supply of goods and materials, and so on. 4) The role of economic legislation must be developed. If necessary, we can take coercive measures to renew and transform certain old, uneconomical machinery or equipment being used by certain enterprises. 5) The enterprises' technological progress and development of new generations of products must be linked to the material interests of the enterprises and their workers. To sum up, we must create such an environment as to make the enterprises take the initiative to care about renewal and transformation and to vigorously carry out technological innovation; we must enable those enterprises which are technologically advanced, which produce high quality products, and which achieve good economic results, to be encouraged and to continue to flourish; we must make it impossible for those enterprises which do not strive for progress, which produce poor quality products, and which always incur losses, to continue to muddle along. A satisfactory handling of this matter will help mobilize the enterprises' initiative and enthusiasm, help quicken the modernization of the enterprises, and help really shift our country's economic development onto the track of taking the improvement of economic results as the central task and relying mainly on expanded reproduction by intensive development.

Ensuring the availability of the material resources and technology needed for renewal and transformation is also an important question. A large-scale renewal and transformation of fixed assets needs a great deal of advanced machinery and electronic equipment. Thus, the development of the machine-building and electronics industries must be compatible with the needs of renewal and transformation. These two industries serve to equip the entire national economy technologically. Their technological levels determine to a great extent the progress of the technological advance of other national economic sectors. At present, our machine-building and electronics industries have attained a considerably large scale, their annual output accounts for about one-fifth of the total value of national industrial output, and they comprise a relatively comprehensive variety of departments. However, their technological standards are still rather low and they are still unable to produce certain high quality, large-scale, precise, or technologically advanced products needed for renewal and transformation. Therefore, in the technological transformation of the entire national economy, the machine-building and electronics industries must advance before other industries do. To quicken renewal and transformation, we can also take advantage of favorable international conditions to vigorously import advanced foreign technology. Those categories of productive technology which are urgently needed for renewal and transformation and which our country cannot tackle at the moment should be imported in a planned and organized way. The State Council recently decided that during the last 3 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, we will import 3,000 items of advanced technology and strengthen the technological transformation of medium-sized and small enterprises. This is absolutely necessary. Of

course, importing foreign technology serves to strengthen our self-reliance ability.

In view of the rapid scientific and technological development in the world, we must seize the right opportunities, face up to the challenges, strengthen the technological transformation of the existing enterprises, reduce the economic and technological gaps between our country and the developed countries, and lay a good foundation for our country's economic vitalization in the 1990's.

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GUIDANCE MATERIAL ON STUDYING THE DOCUMENTS OF THE 2D PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
12TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE--EDITED BY THE RED FLAG THEORETICAL EDUCATION  
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[Text] Editor's note: In order to help readers study the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification," as well as Comrade Deng Xiaoping's and Comrade Chen Yun's important speeches delivered at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, we are prepared to answer questions relating to these. Furthermore, we have organized and compiled a batch of guidance material which gives brief explanations of some important viewpoints in the documents. This batch of guidance material contains about 20 topics, which will be published successively starting from this issue.

The Main Aspect of Our Party Is Good, and Our Party Has a Strong Fighting Capacity

(By Li Lun [2621 0243])

A correct analysis of the party's condition is an important prerequisite for doing a good job in party rectification. The current party rectification aims at solving the grave impurities concerning ideology, work style, and party organization. The task involved is arduous. However, our party has the confidence, measures, and strength to solve these problems because, just as the decision of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification points out: "Our party is a great Marxist party which has gone through rigorous tests for a long time. Even though our party was severely impaired by the 10 years of internal disorder, the main aspect of the party's ranks is still pure and the party still has a strong fighting capacity." This is a correct estimation of our party's basic condition, and is also the principal basis for our confidence in doing a good job in party rectification.

We have said that the main aspect of our party's ranks is good and that our party has a strong fighting capacity. Then what are their manifestations?

Our party has a strong core, with the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as the key elements. Our party's Central Committee, central Political Bureau, central Political Bureau Standing Committee, and central Secretariat are leading groups which are politically mature, united, and in harmony, and which, in their work, can adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, are good at upholding the mass line, and persistently combine Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with practice in building socialist modernization. Therefore, they are able to deal effectively with complicated situations and to carry out correct leadership.

Our party has a complete set of correct line, principles, and policies. After bringing order out of chaos, our party has restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought, adhered to and developed Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions, reestablished the correct ideological line, political line, and organizational line, and formulated a series of principles and policies conforming to practical conditions. All of this has provided vigorous and creative strength in the work on various fronts, and outstanding achievements have been made.

The leading groups of our party at various levels are basically good or relatively good. After gradual readjustment, consolidation, and strengthening in the past few years, on the whole, the leadership of the party at various levels is basically in the hands of cadres loyal to the party and the people's interests. They can actively implement the party's line, principles, and policies and strive for the fulfillment of the tasks put forward by the party.

The majority of our party members are good, and the healthy force greatly prevails within the party. On various fronts there are large batches of brilliant party members who uphold principles and the fine tradition of the party, and serve the people heart and soul. All the achievements made by our party and people are created with the fine example of these outstanding backbone elements.

All the above proves that the main aspect of our party's ranks is good and that our party has a strong fighting capacity. This point can be seen more clearly if we review the great amount of work done and the great achievements made by our party in realizing historic changes and in leading the construction of modernization.

Our party has overcome the serious chaos caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution," completed the work of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology, and created a stable and united political situation.

Our party has adequately resolved a series of important problems left over from history, including putting right a large number of frame-ups, trumped-up cases, and miscarriages of justice, and reevaluating the merits and mistakes of some important leaders of the party and the state.



Our party has systematically summed up the historical experiences since the founding of the country, the experiences and lessons of the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular, thus distinguishing between right and wrong, clarifying ambiguous understanding and ideas, and unifying the ideology of the whole party and the people of the country.

Our party has resolutely realized the transfer of the key points in work, comprehensively developed the socialist modernization construction program with economic construction as the center, implemented the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidating, and improving," and practiced the policy of opening to the outside world while enlivening the internal economy, thus enabling the national economy to step onto a path of healthy development. In the past few years, industrial and agricultural production has rapidly developed, and the life of the people in the cities and rural areas has markedly improved.

Our party has made and is implementing a series of important decisions concerning the strengthening of socialist democracy and law, carrying out structural reforms, and realizing the "four requirements" for cadres, thereby enabling the superstructure to become more suited to the needs of the development of the economic base.

Our party has grasped the work of rectification of party style, reestablished organs for inspecting discipline, waged unremitting struggle against acts which violate the law and discipline and which harm the interests of the party and the people, and promoted the restoration and development of the fine traditions of the party.

Our party has launched a struggle to attack serious economic crimes and other criminal activities. This has brought about a distinct improvement in the general mood of society.

Our party has put forward and promoted the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and conducted education on restoring and developing the fine traditions of the party, as well as education on socialism and communism, and good results have been achieved.

While our party is correcting in an all-round way the "leftist" mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," it has persisted in opposing the wrong rightist trend; and because of the timely and correct development of the ideological struggles on two fronts, our party has ensured the smooth development of the work on various fronts along a correct path.

The aforementioned facts, though incomplete, are sufficient to prove that our party, relying on its own strength, is in a position to correct its own mistakes, overcome its dark side, and develop more healthily; and it can sustain rigorous tests, overcome the great difficulties it faces, and create a new situation in building socialist modernization.

We affirm that the main aspect of our party's ranks is good and, at the same time, we should see that there exist grave impurities within our party

in terms of ideology, work style, and organization, which are extremely harmful to our party. In this respect, we should oppose two kinds of one-sidedness.

One is exaggerating the dark side of things within our party in a biased manner, and regarding our party as "a hopeless mass," as though our party had contracted "an incurable disease" which could never be cured by any means. People holding this view are passive and pessimistic, and they have lost their faith in our party. Those comrades who have this one-sided view fail to realize that since our party is the vanguard of the working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it will never allow any germs to eat into its body; and since our party has been able to shatter the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and has initially healed the wounds caused by the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," it is certain to be able to eradicate germs and to overcome any unhealthy tendencies. As a matter of fact, after a series of measures and struggles in the past few years, the style and organization of the party have been initially consolidated, a healthy atmosphere prevails, and the evil atmosphere is decreasing. After the current all-round party rectification, it is certain that greater results will be scored. From a historical point of view, whenever we were confronted with great difficulties and arduous struggles, there were always persons taking a pessimistic view and doubting the strength of our party, but facts have already proved that those skeptics were wrong. Today, when compared with the past, our party is stronger and its experience in struggle is richer. Therefore, there are no grounds for being passive and pessimistic, or for showing a lack of confidence in party rectification in face of serious problems within our party.

The other kind of one-sided view is the lack of sufficient understanding of the seriousness and harmful effects of the problems existing in the party, and the failure to realize the necessity and urgency of party rectification. The comrades having this one-sided view fail to see that it is precisely because our party is resolute in preserving the purity of the party and has been conducting struggles against all kinds of evil trends and practices which erode, endanger, and undermine our party that the main aspect of our party's ranks can be good and our party can enjoy a strong fighting capacity. If our party stops this kind of struggle and lets the grave impurities in terms of ideology, style, and organization develop continuously, then our party will not only be unable to maintain its good main aspect, but also faces the danger of degeneration. This is by no means alarmist talk. In fact, these serious problems have already weakened the party's fighting capacity, lowered the party's prestige, affected the relationship between the party and the masses, and impaired the party's reputation. Because of the long-term destruction of the 10 years of internal disorder, the factors endangering the party are very complicated. Only through resolute struggle with the greatest determination and efforts can these factors be gradually eliminated. If this important point is not realized, resulting in slackness, indifference, and the bungling of opportunities and schedules, the current party rectification will be concluded in a perfunctory manner, leading to unforeseeable consequences.

## The "People of Three Categories" Are the Most Dangerous Elements Within the Party

(By Yan Long [0917 7893])

A very important task of the current party rectification is to purify the organization, and to weed out [qiqng li 3237 3810] those elements who persistently oppose and endanger the party. And the key to purifying the organization is to weed out the "people of three categories," that is, those who have built themselves up by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in rebelling, those who are seriously influenced by factionalist thinking, and smash-and-grabbers.

Why do we say that the "people of three categories" are the most dangerous elements within the party?

The "people of three categories" are the product of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and are the factional force nurtured by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. During the 10 years of internal disorder, they formed gangs and factions, rebelled and usurped power, persecuted cadres, instigated armed fighting, practiced smashing-and-grabbing, perpetrated many evil things which opposed the party, disrupted the unity of the army, and brought calamity to the country and the people, and played a role of an especially venomous nature. They are radically different from the majority of people who were involved in the movement in the initial stages of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Many cadres and masses took part in the movement out of their trust in Comrade Mao Zedong and the party, but they did not approve of the cruel struggles directed against the leading cadres of the party at various levels, and they opposed armed fighting all the more. Later, many of them raised their consciousness after following a tortuous path, and they became dubious about the character of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some even adopted an opposing attitude, and many gradually saw the true face of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, the "people of three categories" are different. Theirs is not a problem of understanding, and their errors are not of an ordinary type. They consciously closely followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their ilk, who opposed and endangered the party and who were a gang of speculators, careerists, and conspirators. They tasted the sweetness of stirring up trouble in the "Great Cultural Revolution," and they are people with vested interests. After the smashing of the "gang of four," many of them did not change their stand. Some of them have stayed hidden, and some continue to uphold and maintain the program of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and indulge in vain hopes of staging a comeback.

They still uphold their original factionalist thinking, and they have a set of political views aimed at whipping up subversive activities. Some still hold even now that it was right to punish the "capitalist roaders" and that "the 'Great Cultural Revolution' was not wrong." Some have concealed materials which helped to punish people in the "Great Cultural Revolution," and are watching for an opportunity to stage a comeback. Some often disseminate reactionary views, attacking the line, principles, and policies

practiced since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and attacking the central leading comrades, and boast of resuming their positions in the next 10 or 20 years. Some even plot to set up counterrevolutionary organizations together with other criminals in opposition to the party and the people. Recently, in a certain place in the northeast, a counterrevolutionary clique, which aimed at subverting the proletarian dictatorship and toppling the socialist system, was uncovered, and among its members were elements of the "people of three categories."

They possess a set of cunning political strategies, being good at trimming their sails and flattering their superiors so as to worm their way into the confidence of the leaders and the masses and to conceal themselves. Some of them have already been promoted to leading posts, some are being trained as successors, and some others even succeed in edging their way into the key departments of the party and the government or into posts directly under the leading cadres. When the situation is not advantageous, they will disguise themselves to gain the confidence of others, and when the opportunity arises, they will once again fan the flames and stir up trouble so as to usurp the leadership. The "election incident" which occurred in Feixiang County is a typical example. What is worth noting is that some of the "people of three categories" have changed their names, moved to certain places in the country under cover, and conducted secret factional activities. Furthermore, because the units with which they are now working do not realize their actual doings during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the comrades of these units are often misled by false appearances, and it is easy for them to be deceived. Some of these people were thus elected into the leadership.

The majority of the "people of three categories" are relatively young and educated, and some are even quite competent, able to write and speak eloquently, and are lively and active, which is likely to be appreciated by others. Our leading organs at various levels are currently undergoing the process of the old being superseded by the new and of realizing the requirements for cadres "becoming more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent." Under these circumstances, if care is not taken, these people will easily become candidates for selection and promotion. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out: "If we do not heighten our vigilance, and let these people occupy leading posts, resort to double-dealing, take root and establish ties, and hide themselves, even if they are few in number, unpredictable harm and damage may result."

Innumerable facts have proved that the "people of three categories" are a political force with ambitious objectives. Although their number is small, they have an enormous capacity for maneuvering, and they should not be underestimated. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the CPC Central Committee has always paid attention to the problem of weeding out the "people of three categories," and has reminded the whole party time and again that vigilance should be heightened so as to weed them out thoroughly without leaving any hidden danger. The CPC Central Committee has also made special arrangements regarding the problem of weeding out the "people of



three categories," and has pointed out emphatically that it is a matter of extreme importance, having a direct impact on whether or not we can build our party into a strong core that leads the construction of socialist modernization in the new historical period, and on whether or not the continuity of the party's Marxist leadership can be maintained. With regard to the "people of three categories," we have uncovered and dealt with a batch of them in the past, and some people have made some improvement in their ideology and actions. However, there are indeed a considerable number of people who have not changed their stand lying low in our party, and they have become the most unstable and the most dangerous elements lurking in the party. If these persons are not radically uncovered and seriously dealt with in the current party rectification, they will become "qualified party members," or even "legitimate successors," thus leaving the root of trouble and planting a timebomb in our party.

Some comrades fail to have a sufficient understanding of the importance and urgency of weeding out the "people of three categories" in the current party rectification. For example, some maintain that nearly enough has been done in weeding out the "people of three categories," and that even if there are still a few remaining, they are "loaches in a rut, unable to raise big waves"; some are worried that the weeding out of the "people of three categories" will affect stability and unity; some are afraid of offending others or committing "leftist" mistakes once more, and so on. Obviously, all these views are incorrect and they should be clarified. We can see from the large numbers of facts already uncovered that the "people of three categories" are by no means "loaches in a rut." Rather, they are just like borers inside beams and trusses, which can cause a mansion to collapse. Weeding out the "people of three categories" not only will not affect stability and unity, but will eliminate the unstable elements so as to ensure the long-term security and order of the party and the state. Appeasing and tolerating the "people of three categories" instead of weeding them out, because of considerations of avoiding offense or making mistakes, is an act pandering to one's personal gain without considering the interests of the party and the people, and is incompatible with the title of communist. As to some persons who have had ties with the "people of three categories," some of these persons provide shelter for the "people of three categories" under various pretexts, or only weed out those "people of three categories" belonging to the opposite faction, without dealing with "people of three categories" belonging to their own faction. All these attitudes are wrong, and they should be resolutely corrected.

The weeding out of the "people of three categories" is a task relating strongly to policy, demanding resoluteness on the one hand and prudence on the other. It is necessary to do well the work of investigation and verification of materials in a down-to-earth manner, to study cases meticulously, to draw distinctions, to conscientiously grasp relevant policies, and to deal with cases according to the relevant regulations of the party in a matter-of-fact way. So long as they are "people of three categories," no matter what organization they joined during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and no matter to what faction they belong, they are to be weeded out without exception. At the same time, we should guard

against broadening the scope, and should not regard those comrades who committed some ordinary mistakes under the historical conditions at that time as "people of three categories" and treat them as such.

#### Party Rectification Is an Important Step To Win New Victories

(By Sun Ruiyuan [1327 3843 7687])

The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the leading force of the Chinese revolution, and also the leading force in building the modernization of our country. In the new historical period, our party is confronted with the arduous task of carrying out the modernization program, set by the 12th CPC National Congress: While steadily working for more and better economic results, strive to quadruple the gross annual value of our industrial and agricultural production; and build our country. On what should we depend in fulfilling this arduous task and winning new victories? The most radical thing is to rely on the active efforts and struggles of the people of various nationalities under the leadership of the party. The people of our country have always been known the world over for their diligence and bravery. The minds and hands of 1 billion people possess the greatest creative power. However, just as is borne out by history, without a strong core of leadership, people, no matter how great their number, can only be "a plate of loose sand"; and without a core of leadership directing the orientation of progress and upholding the correct path, strength, no matter how great it is, cannot be focused on an objective aimed at creating brilliant achievements. The people of our country have, for a long time, had their personal experiences and profound understanding regarding this. Therefore, the people have placed their hopes for the prosperity and strength of the motherland and for their own happiness and ideals in the CPC, and they hope that the party will become stronger, purer, and endowed with greater strength and be able to better shoulder the heavy leadership responsibility accorded to it by history.

In the past, our party did not fail to live up to the expectations of the people, and in the future it will never let the people down. The present resolve to conduct an all-round party rectification is the manifestation by the party of its loyalty to the interests and requirements of the people, its loyalty to the duties and tasks of the vanguard, and its determination to do a good job in building modernization. Our party can guide the revolution in winning great victories, as has been borne out by history. Our party can lead the construction of modernization in winning great victories, as has also been borne out by the practice of socialist construction over the past 30 years, and as will be further proved by facts in the future. Because our party committed mistakes in the past, and there are many serious problems in the party at present, some kindhearted people still cherish doubts about whether or not our party can lead well the construction of the modernization program. This is not necessarily a bad thing. The broad masses have faith in our party and in the leadership ability of our party, which is no doubt an encouragement to us; a small number of people have doubts, but the underlying essence is the hope that our party can become better and stronger. We should regard these doubts as a well-intended

actuation and derive motivation from them, so that we can realize more profoundly the necessity and urgency of party rectification.

Historical experiences often give us revelations and strength. We will further understand the great significance of the current party rectification if we look back at the Yanan rectification of 1942.

After the Zunyi conference, our party's line was correct, great achievements were made in work, and the party developed into a great national party which was politically mature. However, before the rectification in 1942, there existed in the party the petit-bourgeois ideology and style, and the contradiction and struggle between the proletarian ideology and the nonproletarian ideology. The three evil trends of subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped party writing seriously hampered the implementation of the party's line. At that time, the war of resistance against Japan was in the most difficult period: The Japanese imperialists repeatedly launched attacks on our resistance bases, and the KMT diehards dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to enforce a blockade on us. In order to overcome the difficulties and to strive to win the war of resistance against Japan and victory in the Chinese revolution, the CPC Central Committee decided to rectify the three styles within the party: fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in party relations, and fight party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing. In the rectification, the broad party members studied Comrade Mao Zedong's "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" and other Marxist works, studied the party's documents, made a check on their own ideology and actions, developed criticism and self-criticism, overcame the mistakes of subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped party writing, and achieved a universal enhancement of their ideology and consciousness. The Yanan rectification was a universal education movement on Marxism. It particularly criticized subjectivism manifested in the form of dogmatism, and enabled the party's leading organs and the broad party members to further grasp the basic orientation of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The whole party was thus united under the banner of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. It enabled the party members to have a profound understanding of the line, principles, and basic policy of the Chinese revolution. An unprecedented unity was achieved ideologically, politically, and organizationally. The unity of the party was strengthened, and its fighting capacity was greatly raised, thereby laying the foundation for the victories in the war of resistance against Japan and the new democratic revolution.

Today, we are faced with a new task of party rectification. Just like the Yanan rectification, the current party rectification is conducted under the condition that the party is in possession of the correct line, principles, and policy, and that its task is to consolidate the party's ranks, to straighten out the party style, and to enhance the party's fighting capacity, so as to create conditions for winning new victories. However, the content of the current party rectification is richer than that of the Yanan rectification in 1942, its task is more arduous, and it is an all-round

rectification comprising various aspects of ideology, style, discipline, and organization. We want to straighten out ideology so as to further realize a high degree of ideological and political consistency throughout the party, and to rectify the erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies which are in violation of the four basic principles and the party's line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; we want to straighten out our party style, to bring into play the spirit of serving the people heart and soul, and to rectify various kinds of practices which seek private gain through abuse of power; we want to straighten out our discipline, to uphold democratic centralism, and to oppose a patriarchal system, factionalism, anarchism, and liberalism, and change the weak and lax state of the party; and we want to rectify the organization, and, in accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution, to uncover the elements who persistently oppose and do harm to the party, and expel them from the party. This is a general clean-up which aims at thoroughly eliminating the viruses and dirt from the body. After such an all-round rectification, the ideology of the whole party will be unified, the party style improved, discipline enforced, and the organization purified. Consequently, the prestige of the party will certainly be greatly enhanced, its fighting capacity will certainly be strengthened, and the leading role of the party will be brought into play to a fuller extent. In this way, the broad masses will love and support the party all the more, and will be willing to exert efforts together with us to win new victories in realizing the modernization program.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, in his article "Rectify the Party's Work Style," that "so long as our communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown." Similarly, we can say today that as long as our party is rectified well, any difficulty in our socialist construction can be overcome. If it is said that the Yanan rectification was the precursor of the victory of the new democratic revolution, then the current party rectification will be an important step for us to win new victories in the construction of socialist modernization.

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A BRILLIANT PIECE OF WRITING WHICH FOLLOWS DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED FROM STUDYING THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 45-48

[Article by Ran Changguang [0373 2490 0342], Zhang Feng [1728 6912] and  
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[Text] In the 1950's, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must do things in accordance with dialectical materialism. This is what Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said. I feel that the entire party should study and learn dialectics and do things in accordance with dialectical materialism." In this new historic period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has added rich creativity to the use of dialectical materialism. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" record how he has used dialectical materialism during this period of time to analyze and solve problems, to draw up the party line, principles, and policies, to spur on socialist modernized construction to new successes, and provide us with a model for using and developing dialectical materialism in practice.

I

Comrade Mao Zedong said that the relationship between the generality and the singularity of contradictions is "the core of the problem of the contradiction of things and not understanding it is the same as rejecting dialectics." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 295) If one does things in accordance with dialectical materialism, then the first thing to be done is to correctly handle the relationship between the generality and singularity of contradictions.

Any contradiction of things has its individual features but also certain universal features and hence in its whole it represents the unity of the generality and singularity of contradictions. Generality is the common nature of things and the common laws of its movement development and it conditions the basic trends of the development of things. Singularity is the special nature of things and the special laws of its movement development and it conditions the concrete path of the development of things. Generality exists within singularity and singularity cannot depart from generality and still exist. Maintaining the unity of singularity and generality is of extreme and important guiding significance in both revolution and construction.

During the long period of the revolutionary struggle in the past, Mao Zedong upheld and maintained the unity of generality and singularity, integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and, by starting out from the actual situation in China, bringing about rural encirclement of the towns and thereby guaranteeing the victory of the Chinese revolution. During the period of socialist construction our party also has paid very special attention to examining and researching the special traits of our country. However, the influence of foreign models and insufficient attention to the condition of our country at some times and in some situations meant that "leftist" errors were made and this affected the development of socialist construction. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has assessed the historical experiences of our party and under the new historical conditions he has maintained and upheld the unity of generality and singularity and integrated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the actual situation in our country and has proposed the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics and has clearly pointed out the direction for our socialist development. The construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics requires maintaining the general principles of socialism and yet at the same time there is also a need for special characteristics and traits. If we diverge from the general principles then we cannot maintain the socialist direction; however, we cannot have a socialism with no special characteristics. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Only with socialism can we save China and this is the firm historical conclusion that the Chinese people have drawn from their own experiences since the 4 May movement to the 1960's." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 152) However, the situation in every country varies enormously and there is no inherent or innate model for achieving socialism. The experiences of the Chinese revolution show that if we had not started out from the reality of the situation in China, and if we had borrowed wholesale from the experiences of other countries and taken models from other countries, then we would never have succeeded. Hence, Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out that we must "throw off the fetters of both old and new frameworks and we must truthfully search for and clarify the actual situation of our country." (Ibid., p 315) He went on to say that the main characteristics of the situation in China during this stage were a poor foundation, a large population, and little cultivable land. Starting out from these characteristics, we must come to understand the special laws for the construction of socialism in China and adopt corresponding special methods and measures. It is with this kind of guiding ideology that our party is maintaining the direction of socialism and adopting certain measures which correspond to the situation in China and may thus quickly open up a new situation in socialist construction and at the same time enrich the general principles of socialism.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the scope of things was extremely wide and there was no limit to its development and that "things which are special in certain situations may become of a general nature in other situations." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 293) As far as other countries and other nationalities are concerned, the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics represents the singularity of China, but as far as the various regions, spheres, battlefronts, and individual units in China are concerned, it represents a generality. The principles and

policies drawn up by our party for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics embody this generality and are based on the general situation in China and concern general principles. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has requested that all comrades in the party maintain political unity with the central authorities and this is most necessary in the case of certain fundamental principles and policies. This then is a manifestation of the maintenance of generality and of general principles. On the other hand, the situation in every region is different and thus we cannot do things with "one cut of the knife," rather we must intimately integrate the actual situation of each separate work unit and adopt concrete measures to implement our policies. Hence, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The responsibility of our leading cadres is to integrate the directives of the central authorities and our superiors with the concrete situation in the work units, to analyze problems and solve problems, and we should not simply be 'offices for incoming and outgoing mail' acting on instructions and passing them on without thinking." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 113) He believes that leaders at all levels should take the initiative and can carry out creative work on the basis of their individual situations. With this kind of guiding ideology the party central authorities, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, have constantly proposed that every region and every work unit must integrate the actual situation in that region or work unit and manifest the results in the implementation of the central authorities' principles and policies. At the same time, centralization must take place where necessary and must submit to unified command. Only in this way can the individual initiative of each region be fully expressed and can the individual character of each region emerge and thereby enrich the socialist characteristics of China in general.

## II

Doing things according to dialectical materialism requires that one carry out an overall investigation of problems in practice and that one be good at grasping key points and tackling important points. Concrete questions require concrete analysis and this represents the special nature of the analysis of contradictions. Within the special nature of contradictions, major contradictions and major aspects of contradictions represent the two particularly important conditions of the special nature of contradictions. The basic task of concrete analysis is to grasp major contradictions and the major aspects of contradictions, to outline the focal point of work, and to draw up accurate lines, principles, and policies. Lenin likened political life to each link making up a chain and pointed out that the skill of a political person lay in seeking and grasping the decisive links within a chain so as to be able to grasp the entire chain more easily. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that grasping major contradictions and the major aspects of contradictions was "one of the important ways in which a revolutionary political party correctly determined its political and military strategic tactics and principles." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 301) In the process of China's revolution, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong constantly resorted to grasping major contradictions as a way of defining the revolutionary tasks and focal points of work, drawing up strategic plans, and achieving revolutionary victory in every historical period. However,

during the period of socialism our party has been somewhat biased on occasions as far as grasping major contradictions is concerned. For example, first of all, the party considered the contradiction between the capitalist class and the proletariat to be the major contradiction for the entire period of socialism and denied that there might be any changes in the major contradictions during the period of socialism. Secondly, the contradiction between the capitalist class and the proletariat was used to supplant major contradictions in individual regions, on battlefronts, and in work units. Thirdly, there was ignorance about the interrelationship between major contradictions and secondary contradictions, and thus often only the major major contradictions were tackled. This prejudice hindered the shift in the work emphasis of the party and led to "leftist" errors. During the new historical period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has assessed our historical experiences and has made use of the method of tackling major contradictions to outline and define the major and central tasks of modernization, while at the same time accurately handling the relationship between major and secondary contradictions and thereby guaranteeing the smooth development of all undertakings.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping corrected the past error of believing that the major contradiction during the period of socialism could and would never change and, on the basis of China's socialist revolution and the process of construction development, he investigated the changes in the various contradictions in our country. In 1975, when he was in charge of central authorities work, he proposed that the realization of the four modernizations and enlivening the economy was of general concern to the entire party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he has called for a cessation to "taking class struggle as the key link" and he has demanded that the focal point of the entire party's work be shifted to economic construction. Later, he once again stressed that the realization of the four modernizations was "China's biggest contradiction at present and it is also the major problem or major task which the entire party and all the people of the country must solve now." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 168) On the basis of our experiences and lessons in the past of being unable to achieve a shift in the focus of our work, he stressed that we must now "be resolved" and "firm" in grasping this central work of modernization. He stressed that all other tasks should be secondary to this central work, should revolve around it, and on no account should this central work be interfered with or attacked. He stressed that every party member, every member of a group, and every patriotic citizen must use every possible means to devote all their strength to the four modernizations.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only proposed and proved what the central work should be, he also adopted various key methods and measures in various areas of real practice to ensure the completion of this central work.

First of all, he grasped the major links in every stage of historical development and thereby made a comprehensive guarantee for the four modernizations. In 1977, after he resumed work again, he grasped emancipating thinking and restoring order out of chaos. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he proposed upholding the four basic



principles and the four fundamental guarantees for achieving the four modernizations, and so on. All of these things represented grasping decisive links in every stage.

Secondly, he grasped key points layer by layer and level by level so as to provide guarantees for the four modernizations in all areas. The tasks of modernization involve many different areas and by grasping overall key points one can promote and develop work in each area. However, the unbalanced nature of the development of contradictions between things is universal; thus, there are different major contradictions in different spheres and different areas and hence different methods must be used to solve them. At the same time as tackling comprehensive and overall key points, Comrade Deng Xiaoping always has made a concrete analysis of the various problems on each frontline, in each area, and in each item of work, and from this he has sought the key points and thus guided work. He said that the key to achieving the four modernizations was science and technology, and that the key to developing science and technology was talented personnel. The key to training such personnel was education. Within economic construction Comrade Deng Xiaoping implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts concerning making agriculture the foundation. Thus, he proposed that agriculture be placed in the position of prime importance. As far as problems of cadre ranks were concerned, he said that the key was to select young and middle-aged cadres. Comrade Deng Xiaoping always has carried out a concrete analysis of each contradiction and he always grasped the key point in every area so that each item of work has had a clear direction and accurate methods for implementation and thus modernization has been effectively promoted.

Thirdly, he has correctly handled the relationship between major and secondary contradictions and he paid attention to the coordinated development of key points and non-key points. There is always an interrelationship between things and they are also always interdependent, mutually restrictive, and mutually influential. If one thing departs from its relationship with other things, it cannot exist on its own and it cannot develop. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has used this very dialectical point to handle the relationships between the various battlefronts in our country. He said: "There are many tasks involved in constructing a modernized and strong socialist country, and there are many things which must be done. There is a relationship of interdependence between each of these tasks such as those between economics and education and science and between economics and politics and law. All of these relationships involve interdependence and there can be no stressing one and ignoring the other." (Ibid., pp 213-214) He assessed our past experiences and lessons in only tackling key points and not correctly organizing the various proportional relations within the national economy and the consequential dislocations which occurred. He pointed out that while being secondary to the central task of economic construction, all other areas must have suitable arrangements and comprehensive balance and there can be no concentrating on just one thing or one aspect. In every area of work, coordination between major and secondary aspects must be done successfully and things must be done in order of

importance and urgency and in a coordinated way. Only in this way can key work be guaranteed and can the overall situation develop.

### III

The realization of the four modernizations represents an enormous revolution which will fundamentally change the economic and technologically backward face of China and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolution involves reforms in all areas and it especially involves rectification of the party's work style and purification of party organizations. This by necessity requires that we correctly handle the relationships between affirmation and negation and between breaking down the old and building up the new.

The revolution that we are carrying out is based on the maintenance of the fundamental system of socialism and involves reforms to those aspects of production relations and the superstructure which do not correspond with the requirements of modernization. Hence, we must, first of all, solve the question of how to handle and treat the successes and mistakes in China's socialist revolution and construction. China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, carried out under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, gained great victories, but some mistakes were made. After the smashing of the "gang of four" when we were criticizing the "two whatevers" and correcting the mistakes that Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years, some people attempted to totally negate Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, the party leadership, and socialism. In view of this situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping staunchly analyzed the problem by seeking truth from facts. He said: "Our members of the Communist Party are materialists through and through and we may only confirm those things that should be confirmed and deny those things that should be denied by seeking truth from facts." (Ibid., pp 293-294) Thus, he proposed outlining three differentiations.

First, the difference between major and secondary. Areas of secondary importance should not be used to deny or refute areas of major importance. He pointed out that after the establishment of new China, the leading position of all our battlefronts was mainly occupied by the line of Comrade Mao Zedong and that our socialist revolution and construction gained enormous successes and victories and this must be fully confirmed. However, in the past we have made some "leftist" errors and these must be corrected. As long as there is a differentiation between major and secondary, we can correctly grasp the nature of things and our reforms and party rectification will have a clear direction.

Second, the difference between correct and incorrect. We should not use incorrect things to deny correct things. During reforms of the party and state leadership system, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we must clarify the differences between socialism and capitalism. He believes that although our socialist system is not yet perfect, it is vastly superior to the capitalist system. The reforms that we are carrying out at the moment are thus aimed at giving expression to the superiority of socialism. Those views

which hold that socialism cannot be as good as capitalism because of the errors made in the past in socialist revolution and construction and because of the destruction wrought by the "Cultural Revolution" are incorrect. As long as we differentiate between correct and incorrect then we can be sure that our reforms will develop along the lines of socialism and will not deviate.

Third, the difference between the general and the individual or specific. We should not use the individual to deny the general or use partial things to deny the overall. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked of how to evaluate the party work since liberation, he said we must affirm the great achievements of the last 30 years and we must carry out severe criticism of the shortcomings and errors, but we should on no account say that things were utterly hopeless and a failure. He said that "it is true that there are bad work styles within the party and there is a small number of leading comrades who ensure that they have privileges.... But we should take care not to regard individual phenomena as general phenomena and not to exaggerate partial things into overall things." (Ibid., p 325) Those views which make individual cases into general ones or partial things into overall things and which hold that all party members or most party members have bad work styles and that all leading cadres or most leading cadres make use of privileges or even that there now exists within the party a "bureaucratic class" and that "alienation" has now emerged in all spheres of socialism such as politics, economics, and ideology, are without basis and totally incorrect.

This method of analyzing problems by seeking truth from facts is not only of guiding use in our present reforms and party rectification work, it is also of guiding and universal significance in all areas of our work.

In order to smoothly implement our reforms and party rectification, we must also accurately handle the relationship between breaking down the old and building up the new. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "When we talk of seeking truth from facts and when we talk of a new period of development and new historical conditions, we must also talk of breaking down and building up." (Ibid., p 116) Breaking down mainly implies reforming all production relations which do not correspond with the requirements of modernization and getting rid of all rules, regulations, and systems which do not correspond with modernization, and criticizing the corruptive ideologies of feudalism and capitalism and eradicating spiritual pollution. Building up means restoring the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, establishing production relations and a superstructure which correspond with the requirements of modernization, supporting all new things, and imbuing the people with socialist and communist ideology. Breaking down the old and building up the new represents dialectical unity. We must always maintain the dialectical unity of these two things.

For many years the words breaking down were always at the forefront in theory and were seen in absolute terms and thus only breaking down was stressed while building up was rather ignored. In view of this prejudice, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that "we must not consider that

only the words 'breaking down' are important, 'building up' must also be emphasized." (Ibid., p 269) He stressed the need for both breaking down and building up and that only by building up the new could there be any breaking down of the old. Building up the new and breaking down the old represent the objective process of the development of things. Within this process, at the start new things are always new elements which emerge out of old things and only when these new elements have grown to a certain extent can there be any fundamental qualitative change. According to this law, breaking down and building up do not necessarily take place simultaneously, nor will any breaking down always result in the building up of something new. Only when new elements have developed to a certain extent and cannot continue to develop without negating the old things must there be any emphasis on breaking down, although building up is contained within it. If during the process of development of a thing only breaking down is emphasized and not building up, then what will inevitably happen is that either it will not be possible to break down the old and it will not be possible to build up the new, or there will be breaking down of the old but the new will not be built up and thus there will be an interruption in the development of things and the aim of breaking down the old and building up the new will not be achieved. In accordance with the objective process of the development of things, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed that breaking down the old and building up the new involves turning over a new leaf and it also must ensure the continuity of the development of things. For example, he pointed out that in the course of the reform of the party and state leadership we cannot first break down the old and then build up the new, rather we must studiously carry out investigations and research and propose effective and viable measures and plans and then carry out pilot schemes before anything may gradually be propagated on a wide scale. He said that "there are some questions which still must be put to the test by means of pilot schemes after the central authorities have agreed on them in principle; thus, by gaining experiences and amassing knowledge each problem will reach maturity and be solved, and then the central authorities may make formal decisions on them and draw up thorough and viable systems and rules and regulations which will be effective for a long time and be gradually implemented. Before the central authorities draw up and officially announce new systems and rules and regulations, work in the relevant areas must be carried out in accordance with existing systems." (Ibid., p 300) This ideology of building up the new and then breaking down the old tells us that we must adopt a positive attitude in carrying out our various types of reform but that we should not be overeager. The establishment of any system requires a developmental process of perfection. Only when it can no longer continue to develop in practice can there be any breaking down and establishing of the new system. On the basis of this principle, the system reforms that we are carrying out now should be based on the rule and law of the suitability of the production relations to the productive forces and the superstructure, which in turn are suited to the economic foundation, thus "allowing each thing to ripen in turn and taking those things which are not ripe a little slower." (Ibid., p 365) Only by effectively carrying out our work in accordance with the laws of the development of objective things and creating conditions to promote the growth of new things can we guarantee the smooth implementation of reform work, the consolidation of the results of reform work, and the promotion of the four modernizations program.



ON 'COLLATION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 84 inside back cover

["Reader's Column" article by Chen Shimiao [7115 1102 8693]]

[Text] Editor's note: Recently, we have received many letters from readers concerning errors in certain articles. This article "On 'Collation'" was one of these articles. It is our earnest hope that editorial workers of our publication circles will display a highly responsible attitude and spirit to the people, show a work style which is careful, meticulous, and not the least bit negligent, and adopt all necessary measures to avoid and eliminate errors in their articles. We deeply regret that, due to carelessness, this magazine has also made many errors, typographical or otherwise, in its published articles. We have resolved to earnestly listen to the views of our readers, make utmost efforts to banish errors from our publications, and cooperate with the publication circles in this regard. At the same time, we fervently hope that our many readers will continue to supervise and help us.

Dear Comrade Editor:

I was deeply impressed upon reading the article entitled "Be Strict and Careful, and Not the Least Bit Negligent" in RED FLAG magazine, No 19. In recent years, wrongly written characters and various kinds of errors have appeared in frightening numbers in newspapers and magazines. Frequently, no corrections of these errors have been made. At present, such a situation has reached an intolerable stage. If it is not rectified, it will bring immense difficulties to the realization of the standardization of our language. As readers, we cannot remain silent on this problem. Hence, we are writing this letter to you under the special caption "On 'Collation'" to express our views. We hope that this will attract the attention of the publishing circles.

People of ancient times highly regarded the proofreading of manuscripts. They called proofreading "collation," meaning that erroneous words or characters, erroneously written characters, an excessive number of characters, missing characters, and characters written in wrong or reverse order must be treated as "enemies." They must be sorted out, one by one, in proofreading and must not be left unnoticed.

Comrade Mao Zedong paid great attention to the proofreading of manuscripts. He solemnly pointed out: "The frequent appearance of wrong characters in newspapers is due to the failure to treat the elimination of erroneous characters in a businesslike manner. For example, let us assume that we adopt the method of the mass line: Whenever errors in characters are found in the newspaper, we call a meeting of the entire staff, talk only about this matter, relate clearly the actual state of affairs, the cause of the error, and the method of eliminating errors, and ask everybody to take note in real earnest. If this is repeated three to five times, then surely the errors can be corrected." ("Talks to Editorial Staff of JINSUI RIBAO," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 121)

In recent years, errors and omissions have frequently appeared in many of our books, newspapers, magazines, and other publications. For example, a book on China's socialist economic problems erroneously spelled Marx' name as "En-ge-si" instead of "Ma-kesi," and erroneously cited the volume number, book name, publication date, and page number of the classical publications. Moreover, errors were found in quoted passages. A party school in a certain city printed scores of teaching materials, ranging from philosophy, political economy, and party construction to enterprise management. Not a single copy was free of errors of some kind. One book on socialist enterprise management especially had profuse printing errors. Thus, the characters for "he-suan" [2702 4615] (business accounting) appeared in the text as "he suan" [0678 4615] (meaning "worthwhile"), while the characters "ying-li" [4134 0448] (meaning business profit) appeared as "ying-li" [6366 0448] (meaning gain from gambling or speculation). It appeared that no proofreading had been done at all. A book on the introduction of recreational activities during the festival season not only erroneously quoted passages from Lu Xun's famous poems, but also published an inaccurate chart of the names of many cities. A book on historical and contemporary affairs in China and abroad gave incorrect names for localities and wrong figures for the amounts of indemnities. Some newspapers and magazines printed the characters for the anti-"encirclement" campaign without the quotation marks, although in usage the quotation marks should not have been missing. Examples of this kind actually defy listing.

What should be specially mentioned is that, despite the appearance of errors (and very serious ones), certain publications have simply left them alone and refused to make any correction. This is being irresponsible to the reading public.

I sincerely hope that comrades engaged in writing and editorial work will assume a highly responsible attitude toward the people, take the spirit of "collation" in proofreading manuscripts, and do their utmost to avoid and eliminate errors. And all errors must be corrected.

Reader "Chen Shimiao"

October 1983

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